

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Political Evolution and
State Formation in
Pre-Colonial Zambia

Mutumba Mainga



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in Pre-Colonial Zambia**

by

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Bookworld Publishers

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To my Mother

Who started it all and gave us everything.

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The royal band at Lealui
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Lewanika, Edinburgh, 1902
Visit of Lewanika to Scotland, 1902
The iron bridge at Lealui, erected in 1908 to replace the wooden one made by Waddell in 1984

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Preface to 1973 edition

By comparison with other areas of Zambia, Bulozhi has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. Professor Gluckman's studies of Lozi jurisprudence and government form one of the classics of Central African anthropology. More recently a good deal of historical writing has been published. Among these are Professor Vansina's survey of the material available for the pre-colonial Lozi State, contained in his general survey of the Kingdoms of the Savanna; Mr. Clay's biography of Lewanika; articles by Dr. Stokes and Professor Ranger dealing with Lewanika's role during the colonial period; Professor Rotberg's treatment of the missionary factor in Bulozhi in the wider context of missionary activity in Zambia as a whole; Dr. Gann's account of Lozi history in his general history of Northern Rhodesia, and a doctoral thesis, now published, on the political history of Bulozhi from 1878 by Dr. Caplan. Anyone presenting another extended treatment of Lozi history, therefore, must attempt to indicate what novelties of source or interpretation justify the work.

The most important justification for further extended research on Lozi history lies in the fact that the greater part remains unknown despite the considerable amount of material published. The great bulk of this material relates to the Scramble and to the colonial period. And the material which does deal with precolonial Bulozhi hardly treats it historically at all. A different approach seemed necessary.

A thorough examination of the Lozi's concept of their own history reveals the existence of complex and detailed variants of oral

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tradition, whose character is fully discussed in this book. These different variants of tradition can be used to illuminate many of the crucial problems of Lozi history. In addition, this study draws upon a variety of written sources, some of them hitherto unused by historians. It seeks to combine the written and oral material to produce a coherent interpretation of Lozi history, and at the same time to explore the character and reliability of each type of evidence by comparing and contrasting, as well as by supplementing one with the other.

The main emphasis of the study is on the attempt to establish the nature and lines of development of the Lozi traditional structure and institutions from the time of the founding of the present Lozi dynasty. It also endeavours to show how external factors affected this structure, and the extent to which such external factors were themselves exploited by the Lozi. This then is the basis adopted for the reconstruction of the Lozi past. In so doing, however, I have often been obliged to raise historical questions rather than give historical answers. The existing evidence is not full enough to answer some of the most important questions but I hope that it will be useful to have asked them against the day that further linguistic, archaeological and oral evidence is available.

For the much better known period of the Scramble, novelty is also possible through the revaluation and reinterpretation of sources. Historical accounts of this period have been largely based, for example, on the missionary sources, diaries, letters and writings of Coillard and Jalla, the British South Africa Company correspondence and British Government documents. I make no claim that oral evidence is more reliable than this written evidence. But when all the written evidence is examined closely, and cross-checked within itself, then balanced against oral evidence and set in the whole context of nineteenth-century Lozi history, we can see that it needs to be reinterpreted. Coillard is an immensely valuable source, but he was very often recording events that he did not understand and imposing upon them an explanation which satisfied him but bore little relation to the facts. I have tried to give some instances of this process of reinterpretation. Company material falls into a number of categories which reveal the inner tactics of empire building. Needless to say, oral evidence is also constantly in need of re-evaluation in the light of written material and the ever-changing

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forces which affect the general environment within which it is contained and transmitted. In this field, however, the novelties of my presentation depend also to a certain extent on new evidence. I have collected oral evidence much more extensively than has previously been attempted for an historical study of the Lozi. In doing so I would claim to have penetrated the formal collections of Lozi 'establishment' tradition published by Jalla, whose work on the traditional history of the Lozi was closely watched and strictly controlled by Lewanika and the Kuta.

Finally, I must point out that this is the first history of Bulozhi by a Lozi. This fact deserves mention because there are great advantages in working from within a society and I should not otherwise have had access to a good deal of the material I have collected. But there are disadvantages as well. There are dangers in using material once collated in a narrowly Lozi way. These I have tried to avoid.

MUTUMBA MAINGA

Preface to 2010 edition

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings was first published in 1973 by Longman, London. The book was based on a successful PhD thesis which was submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1969.

After wide consultations at home and abroad, a decision was made to have the book reprinted in its original form. *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings* is a study of the Lozi Kingdom in Western Zambia in the pre-colonial period. The study traces the origins of the Luyana and the Lozi people; the founding of the Luyana Central Kingship and the invasion by the Makololo in the mid-nineteenth century; and ends with the study of the Lozi response to European intrusion at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The preface to the first edition provides a justification for the study in 1973. Since then more research has been carried out into the history and other aspects of Lozi society. *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, however, still remains unique in its emphasis on the nature and lines of development of the Lozi traditional structure and institutions, and the extent to which external factors affected them.

Furthermore, the rich oral source materials with their different variants of tradition which were used to illuminate many of the crucial problems of Lozi history belonged to a generation of elders and custodians of history who have now gone, and are almost impossible to replace in the present environment in Buluzi.

Acknowledgements

The main contents of this book derive from a doctoral thesis presented to London University in 1969. In the acknowledgements section of the thesis my academic obligations are fully stated and demonstrated.

I would, however, like to reiterate here my thanks to Dr. Eric Stokes of St Catherine's College, Cambridge, and to Professor Roland Oliver of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, who were my supervisors. My thanks also go to Dr. Richard Gray, Dr. David Birmingham, Mr. Anthony Atmore of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University; to Professor Omer-Cooper and Dr. Andrew Roberts of the University of Zambia; and to Mr. Richard Brown of the University of Sussex, with whom I had valuable chapter discussions. Finally I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to Professor Terence Ranger currently of the History Department, University of California, who first suggested the idea of research to me.

In my search for written sources I have been assisted by many people in Archives and Libraries; I owe special thanks for help with missionary archives (in French) to M. Kruger in Paris, Rev. J. P. Burger and Miss Graziella Jalla.

Relating to oral sources I have a very great obligation to the people of Bulozhi and particularly to my informants who are too many to mention here but are identified individually in the bibliography. I owe thanks to the members of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in Bulozhi and Mulena Mukwae Makwibi of Nalolo who on several occasions provided me with transport and accommodation.

Acknowledgements

In this connection I also thank the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (now the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia) for the use of their vehicle and field-work equipment and the United National Independence Party for providing me with an excellent driver, Mr. Wamulume Mwikisa.

I owe thanks to Joseph Kalila Kelekwa for his untiring help during the periods of collecting oral tradition in Bulozhi; and also to Miss Rita Sharpe for translating material from the French.

Financially, my thanks go to the then University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland who supported me in the first stages of this work in 1964, to the Rockefeller Foundation who financed my year's research at Cambridge University in 1964-5, and to my husband Theodore Bull who financed the rest of my research when I registered with London University. Finally, the revision of my thesis was made possible by a generous grant from the University of Zambia.

Abbreviations

B.S.A. Co.	British South Africa Company
N.A.R.	National Archives of Rhodesia
N.A.Z.	National Archives of Zambia
P.(E).M.S.	Paris (Evangelical) Missionary Society
U.N.I.P.	United National Independence Party

Introduction: Bulози

The Lozi live in the Western Province, formerly Barotsse Province, in the south-western corner of the Republic of Zambia. In the west the province lies next to the Portuguese territory of Angola, and in the south it adjoins the Caprivi Strip of South-West Africa; to the east and north lie the Southern, Central and North-Western provinces of Zambia respectively. The Western Province is divided into five administrative districts with Sesheke in the south, then Senanga, Mongu-Lealui, Kalabo to the west and Mankoya to the east. (Mankoya has recently been officially renamed Kaoma.)

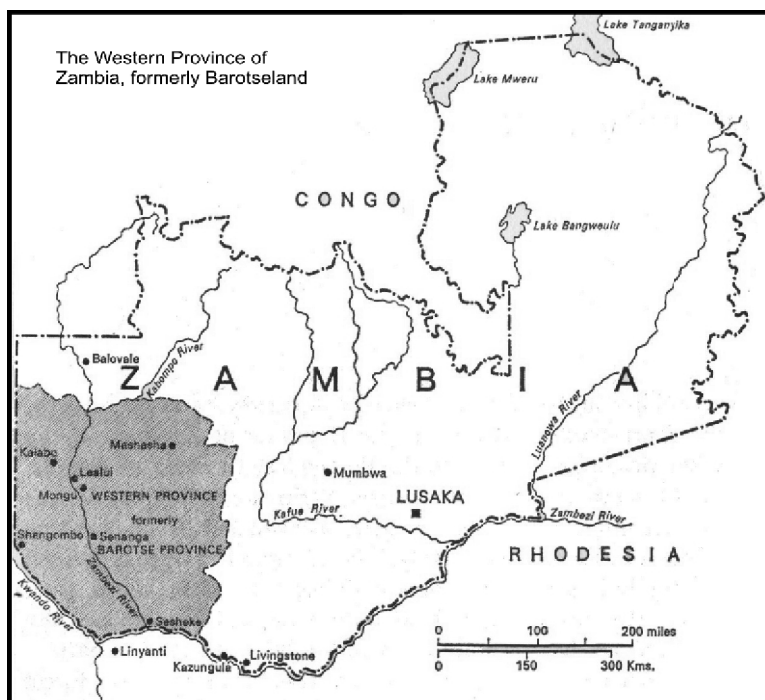
The Lozi region comprises mainly Kalahari sands and forest scrub. The Zambezi River runs through the province from north to south, in a bed of the rich alluvial Flood Plain traditionally known as Ngulu or Bulози 'proper'.

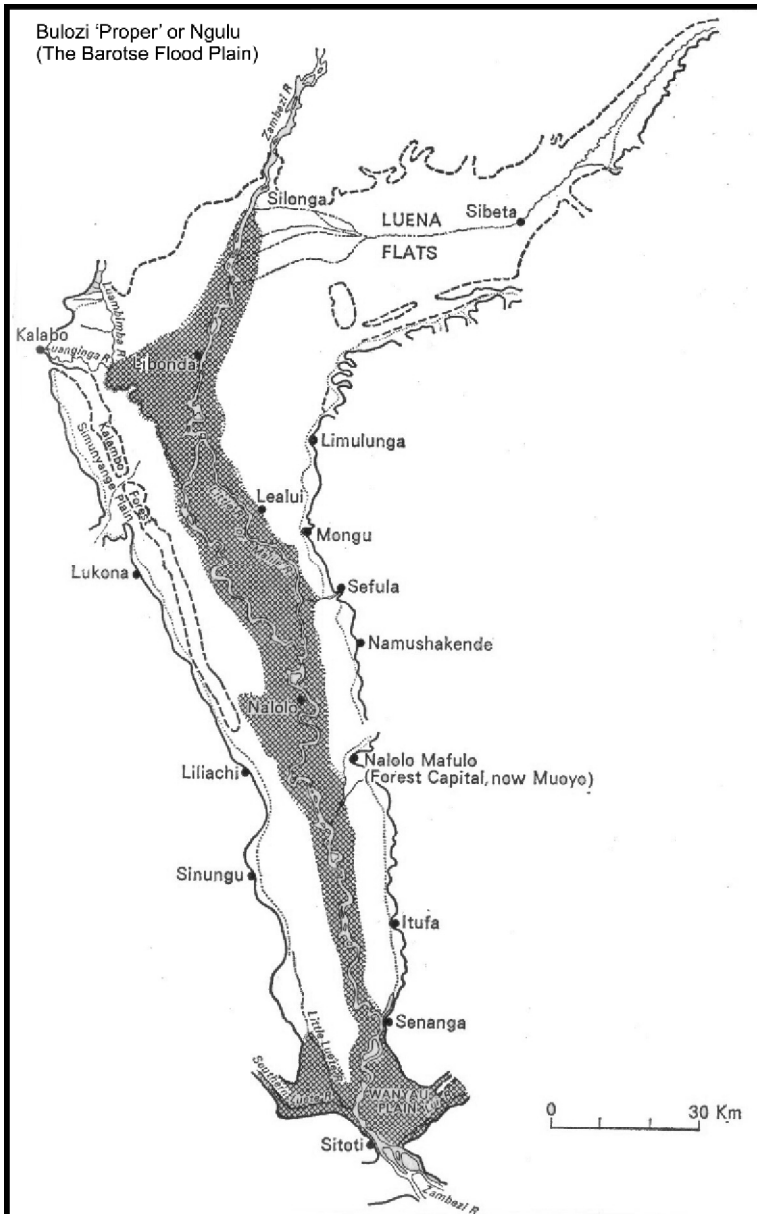
The Plain, nearly a hundred miles long, stretches from the confluence of the Lungwebungu and the Kabompo Rivers with the Zambezi in the north, to the confluence of the Lui River with the Zambezi in the south in Senanga District. It varies in width from about ten miles at its southern extremity to about thirty miles at its widest near Lealui.¹ The present traditional Lozi capital is in Mongu-Lealui District.

The Plain is flooded seasonally from January to about May. Due to the floods the inhabitants of the valley build their villages on termite mounds (*mazulu*) and artificially built mounds (*liuba*). At the height of the flooding in late February or March, they are

¹ D. U. Peters, *Land Usage in Barotseland*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka 1960, p. 9.

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compelled to shift their homes to the forest region where they wait for the waters to recede before returning to their villages in the Plain in about June.

The forest on the eastern side of the Plain is traditionally known as Nyunyi. There is a marked rise of ground as the Plain meets the forest and there are also a few prominent hills overlooking the Valley.² On the western side, the Zambezi Plain merges with Lukona Forest in a pattern similar to that in the east, except that a little way into the Plain and parallel to Lukona Forest there is a long belt of woodland known as Kalamba Forest. Kalamba Forest is slightly raised but is subject to floods when the river is abnormally high.

Cutting through the forest on both sides of the valley into the Zambezi River are numerous tributaries such as the Kabompo, Lukulu, Luena, Lui, Lumbe, Njoko and Machile Rivers in the east, and the Lungwebungu, Luanginga, Lueti and the Linyanti (known also as the Chobe, Kwando or Mashi) Rivers in the west. These tributaries form small valleys of their own which dissect the forest and extend the main Plain in several directions. The Luena flats in the north-east for example extend the main Plain for thirty to forty miles eastwards, while in the south the main Plain is continued by Wanyau Plain formed at the confluence of the Lui River with the Zambezi.³

In addition to the tributaries of the Zambezi, the sandy forest is dotted with round pans (*masa*) such as those of Nalulao, Makapaela, and Lutende in Mongu District in the east, and Lilambo, Liande and Sihole in Kalabo District in the west. The smaller and shallower pans are only seasonally waterlogged or flooded.

Although the valleys and areas around large pans offer good agricultural and pastoral capabilities, it is the Zambezi Plain which is regarded by the Lozi as the heart of their country, and is sometimes referred to as 'Bulozi' in contrast to other areas, though the name applies generally to the whole country of the Lozi. This may be explained historically. The Zambezi Plain, being the largest agricultural and pastoral area in the region, was the site chosen by the founders of the Lozi Kingdom. Later, it was gradually extended to the outlying areas.

² These hills feature frequently in Lozi myths and early historical traditions. The best-known hills are, from north to south, Mombo, Mutuwambwa and Lianyi.

³ D. U. Peters, *Land Usage*, p. 9.

The name Lozi (usually spelt Rotse by the missionaries, travellers and early administrators and hence Barotse Province instead of Bulozo Province) is a collective name for several small tribes of similar cultural and linguistic character who comprised the Lozi Kingdom. The exact origin of this collective name is unknown although there are a number of traditions surrounding it. It is invariably said that the Ma-Lozi were the founders of the present ruling dynasty in Bulozo,⁴ and their name was passed on to cover the whole group of tribes which they absorbed into their State. Quite often in conversation the royal family and the aristocracy are referred to as 'Ma-Lozi' as opposed to the common people. Another variant of tradition, however, says that the people known as 'Ma-Lozi' today were originally known as 'A-Luyi' or 'Aluyana' until the nineteenth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century the A-Luyi were conquered by the Makololo, a people of Sotho stock from the south, and it is alleged that the A-Luyi were given the name of 'Ma-Lozi' by the Makololo.⁵ Both traditions seem feasible but the latter emerges more strongly when it is realised that the core of the Lozi Kingship, which struggled to remain unchanged despite the Makololo influence and other external forces, uses as an official language at Court a language known as 'Siluyana'. Moreover, there are numerous tribal groups in Bulozo who were there long before the Makololo invasion and whose dialects are very closely related to Siluyana.⁶ In this study both names, A-Luyi (or Luyana) and Ma-Lozi, are used.

The life pattern of the Lozi has always been very much

⁴ Induna Sipaka Mundia; Village: Namukuyu; Silalo: Mapungu; District: Kalabo; Tribe the original Ma-Lozi of Mbuyu. He insisted that *Ma-Lozi* were a different and separate tribe from all the other tribes in Kalabo.

The Induna Iwake Wakumelo also came from Kalabo District. Succeeded to the Indunaship in 1946. Title of Wakumelo has been in his family for three generations, and was originally held at Libonda Kuta, but my informant had been transferred to Ikatulamwa Kuta. He claimed that his tribe was Lozi. It is both interesting and significant that the people claiming to be Lozi are from Kalabo. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the nucleus of the Lozi State was founded in Kalabo District, a fact which suggests that the founders of the Lozi State lived originally in Kalabo District.

⁵ Among several informants were: Ndate Mufaya Kekelwa: Born: Silundu near Sefula; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui. Also Y. W. Mupatu: Village: Itwandi Sifulelua; Silalo: Siwito; Induna Nalubutu; District: Mongu-Lealui. See also A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland*, John Lane, London 1904, I, pp. 141-2.

⁶ G. Fortune, 'A Note on the Languages of Barotseland', Conference of the *History of the Central African Peoples*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka 1963. E. Jacottet, *Etudes sur les langues du Haut Zambèze*, Textes originaux recueillis et traduits en français. E. Leroux, Paris 1896, 1899 and 1901, p. II.

influenced, indeed dictated, by their environment. The Lozi year is divided into thirteen months,⁷ and the length of the month is calculated according to the waxing and waning of the moon. The months are in turn grouped according to seasons, and seasons determine the annual economic, mainly agricultural, activities of the people. The beginning of the agricultural activities coincides with the beginning of the year. This is in about September (*Muimunene*). Fields are prepared in anticipation of the rain which, as in the rest of Central Africa, is seasonal, and lasts from October (*Yenda*) or November (*Njimwana*) to about March (*Liatamanyi*). Temperatures vary with the seasons. The hot season occurs before the rains between August (*Muyana*) and November; the rainy season is usually cool, and winter (*Maliha*) comes after the rains, May (*Kandao*) to July (*Sikulu*).

Owing to clearly defined ecological differences between the valley and forest regions, each has products peculiar to itself which can be obtained outside only by trade or other forms of exchange.

The unique characteristics of the Plain have had far-reaching consequences for the development not only of the Lozi economy but also of the Lozi State and its institutions. Similarly, as will be seen, migration and settlement in Bulozi were determined to a great extent by environmental factors.

⁷ The thirteenth month, the seventh in Lozi, comes between February (*Yowa*) and March (*Liatamanyi*). It is known as *Sikwetikweti*.

1 Migration and settlement

The Lozi traditionally claim that they were the first in the Plain and have always been there, and that they were the result of a union between Nyambe (God) and the female ancestress figure Mbuyu. Viewed within the historical context of traditions of other Zambian groups, the Lozi claims, as recorded by the missionary Adolphe Jalla,¹ have been described by C. M. N. White as 'a disappointing source of ethno-historical data. They provide no corroboration for cross-references from other traditions and in fact are in contradiction to them.'²

White points out that the legend of a divine and autonomous origin contrasts with long-established histories of the foundation of the Lozi State given by other chiefly dynasties, such as the Kazembe Lunda of Luapula, and the Ndembu Lunda of the North-Western Province. According to these, the Lozi rulers belong to one of many Zambian dynasties whose origins are traced back to the Mwata Yamvo dynasty of the old Lunda Kingdom in the Katanga area of the Congo. Similar contradictions of Lozi claims for an autonomous origin, and also of stories linking them with Mwata Yamvo, were encountered in the course of this study among the Nkoya, particularly the Ba Mashasha group of Mwene Kahare.³ Furthermore, in the course of this study, a second, more factual and historical layer of Lozi tradition has come to light, suggesting

¹ A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, translated S. B. Jones, typed Lealui 1921, p. 4.

² C. M. N. White, 'The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi', *African Studies*, xxi, 1962.

³ Mwene Kahare Kabambi Timuna: Born 1921. Kuta: Litoya; District: Mankoya; Mwene Kahare since 1952.

possible links with the Lunda in the Congo.⁴

In view of the evidence and claims above, it would be absurd to assume there was an independent centre of origin for the Lozi in the Plain on the Zambezi. Settlement in Bulozi, indeed, can now be looked at within the general perspective of settlement patterns in Zambia and Central Africa.

Recent archaeological studies have traced the settlement patterns in Zambia through the Early Stone Age nearly 50,000 years ago, the Middle Stone Age, Later Stone Age to the Early Iron Age and the present. The Stone Age inhabitants of Zambia as in the rest of southern Africa appear to have been Khoisan or Bushmen type of people. They bore a close resemblance to the surviving types of bushmen such as those in the Kalahari Desert.⁵ The former existence of Bushmen type of people in southern Africa is borne out by the existence of tales of small people in most of the traditions of existing Bantu-speaking groups. The same traditions link the small people with rock paintings such as those found in the Central, Northern, Eastern and Luapula Provinces of Zambia. Moreover, in certain parts of Zambia there still live groups of people believed to be remnants of the pre-Bantu populations, such as the Ba Twa groups in the Bangweolo and Kafue swamps.

Little archaeological work has yet been done in Bulozi, but the results so far suggest a pattern similar to that described above.⁶ No Early Stone Age sites have yet been found in Bulozi. Middle Stone Age sites were, however, discovered along the river between Sesheke and Senanga, Mankoya Boma and at Chavuma to the north of Bulozi in the North-Western Province. The deposits here are all comparable to those found elsewhere in Zambia for this period, the Kalomo/Livingstone and the Kalambo Falls areas, for instance. Late Stone Age sites are common along rivers, in caves and rock shelters all over Zambia. In Bulozi similar sites were found between Sesheke and Senanga, and to the north of Bulozi in Chavuma area and Balovale Boma. The settlement pattern so far appears to be uniform

⁴ Mutumba Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi: Some oral traditions', *Zambesian Past*, eds Stokes and Brown, Manchester University Press, 1965, pp. 238-47.

⁵ B. M. Fagan, *Southern Africa*, Thames and Hudson, London 1965, p. 33. J. Desmond Clark, 'A Note on the pre-Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1950-2, i, 2, pp. 42-52.

⁶ Some of the archaeological information on Bulozi results from interviews with Mr. David Phillipson in Livingstone, Zambia, in November 1968. Mr. Phillipson and his wife had located a number of archaeological sites in Bulozi which they hoped to follow up and from which they had collected some interesting findings.

although no Stone Age sites have yet been found in the Plain. The absence of Stone Age finds in the Plain may be due to the absence of stone or to the fact that deposits are buried deep in the sand and have not yet been located.⁷ This seems a reasonable assumption since in Bulozhi, including the Plain, as in the rest of Zambia there are tales of small people, *bo Mbonezi Kai*, and it is also interesting to note the existence of bushmen types (Makwengo) in the Mashi and Chobe areas in south-west Bulozhi.⁸

Early Iron Age settlements started in Zambia around the first century A.D., and interestingly enough one of the earliest dates so far established is for a site located at Machile in southern Bulozhi.⁹ More Early Iron Age sites have been identified in Bulozhi at Lusu, Kunyenganya near Katima Mulilo, Sipo on the Sesheke/Senanga road, at Sefula Mission Station, and at Luvusi between Mankoya and Lukulu.¹⁰ These sites seem to have been contemporary and are related to several sites found not only in Zambia but also in Rhodesia and some parts of East Africa.¹¹ In Zambia Early Iron Age sites have been found, for example at Dambwa north of Livingstone in the Southern Province, Kamusongolwa Hill near Kasempa in the North-Western Province, and Kalambo Falls near Lake Tanganyika in the Northern Province.

The Early Iron Age peoples had negroid features and were responsible for the introduction of potmaking, agriculture, domestic stock and ironwork. Their settlement patterns seem to have been dictated by factors such as soil fertility, good grass and water supplies.

Whereas in the Northern and Southern Provinces archaeologists have been able to determine how long Early Iron Age settlement lasted, in Bulozhi this has not yet been established. The terminal dates for the Early Iron Age in Bulozhi will be of interest, for they will throw more light on the period of settlement in the valley of present societies who do not seem culturally to have been part of the Early

⁷ J. Desmond Clark, 'The Bushmen Hunters of the Barotse Forests', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1950-2, i, 3, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-65.

⁹ B. M. Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia* (Kalomo and Kangila), Chatto and Windus for National Museum of Zambia 1967, i, p. 8. B. M. Fagan, 'Early Farmers and Iron Workers (100 BC to AD 1500)', *A Short History of Zambia*, Oxford University Press 1966, p. 82.

¹⁰ D. W. Phillipson, 'The Early Iron Age in Zambia: Regional variants and some tentative conclusions', *Journal of African History*, 1968, ix, 2, p. 200.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Iron Age.¹²

In the Southern Province early farmers' sites were abandoned by the thirteenth century A.D. and replaced instead by those of the ancestors of the present Tonga groups, some of whom were established by 1100 A.D.¹³ Conversely, at Kalambo Falls in the Northern Province, occupation of sites of early farmers continued until about the end of the sixteenth century when their gradual replacement by the present groups living in Zambia began.¹⁴

Traditions of most of the existing groups in Zambia claim a common origin in the Congo. This claim is borne out further through a common material culture and linguistic ties which connect Central African languages with the old languages of the Luba-Lunda states in the Congo. As already seen, some of these groups postulate a similar origin for the Lozi.

There are significant variants in Lozi oral tradition suggesting a very important relationship with the Lunda of Mwatayambo.¹⁵ Certain points about these traditions, however, require some explanation if we are to assess their full value for the reconstruction of Lozi history. Traditions linking Bulozi with the Lunda appear to concern only the ruling dynasty. While admitting the existence of a previous people in the Plain, they do not include or account for the origins of the groups which were conquered and absorbed by the new rulers.

The founders of the present Lozi dynasty seem to have incorporated at least two distinct groups, one in the north and another in the south. Apparently, neither group possessed a centralised hierarchical political structure before the rise or arrival of the present Lozi dynasty. All seem to have lived in groups under small autonomous chieftaincies which had to be conquered and incorporated individually into the new Lozi State. In both the north and the south a number of these earlier tribes are still remembered and their descendants are still identifiable, and by the same names in most cases. In the north these include the Muenyi, Imilangu,

¹² D. W. Phillipson, Livingstone, November 1968. See also Phillipson's comment on a possible correlation of Early Iron Age with the present Bantu speakers. D. W. Phillipson, 'The Early Iron Age in Zambia', *Journal of African History*, 1968, ix, 2, p. 211.

¹³ B. M. Fagan, *A Short History of Zambia*, Oxford University Press 1966, pp. 91-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁵ Mutumba Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi: Some oral traditions', *The Zambesian Past*, eds Stokes and Brown, Manchester University Press 1965, pp. 243ff.

Ndundulu, Mbowe,¹⁶ Liuwa, Simaa, Makoma and Nyengo,¹⁷ In the south were the Subiya, the Mbukushu, Toka, Totela, Shanjo and Fwe,¹⁸ among groups still existing today.

The two groups, northern and southern, appear to have been quite distinct from each other not only in geographical terms but also ethnically if the present linguistic division is anything to go by.¹⁹

The southerners, judging from their language today, were closely related to the Tonga groups in the present Southern Province.²⁰ This might suggest that these groups descend, like the Tonga themselves, from the Early Iron Age people known to have lived in this area. Traditions of some of the existing southern groups, however, hold that their original home area was further to the north on the Zambezi and in the present Bulobi Plain.²¹ It would appear they were compelled to retreat southwards into Sesheke District by the southward expansion first of their northern neighbours and then of the new rulers.

If these southern groups represent an early Tonga-type population of the Plain, our main problem is to identify the groups which first replaced them there, and then extended control over them. Where did the decentralised northern groups who pushed into the Plain come from and when did they come? And, as a quite separate question, where did the group which set up the Lozi dynasty come from and how much later than the decentralised northern peoples did they arrive in the Plain?

Given the scarcity of evidence for the early settlers in Bulobi, it is obviously necessary to make some deductions from linguistic evidence. At present, however, little comprehensive work has been

¹⁶ In January 1945 the Mbowe, taking advantage of the Luvale secession from Bulobi, tried to regain their autonomy. One M. Imenda signing himself 'Munyambowe' (hereditary owner of Mbowe) wrote and pointed out clearly that the Lozi had known who the leader of Mbowe was since Mbo's time. (Letter dated 1/1/45 in *Mongu District Notebook*, p. 52.)

¹⁷ Ishee Kwandu Sikota Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, type script, 1959, p. 4.

¹⁸ A. Jalla, *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi*, revised edition, Oxford University Press 1959, p. 16. For Ngombala's (K6) conquest in Sesheke, Batoka and Linyanti areas see: Box 356 8/2/3 (N.A.Z.). Accounts also given by Mwene Ciengele Singumbe. Likishi: age 76 (n/4/64); Village: Lifwekelo; Silalo: Siwito.

¹⁹ The missionary E. Jacottet chose Siluyana and Si Subiya as representing two different and characteristic types, and as specimens of the languages of the north and south of Bulobi. Jacottet, E., *Etudes sur les langues du Haut Zambèze*, Textes originaux recueillis et traduits en français. I. Grammaires Soubiya et Louy; Ernest Leroux, Paris 1896, p. II. Similar evidence also by: Indunas from Mwandi Kuta, Sesheke district and Indunas from Libonda-Kalabo district. Interviewed at Namushaken-de, Sept. 1968. The Indunas had assembled for an administrative course.

²⁰ B. M. Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia* (Kalomo and Kangila), Chatto and Windus 1967, p. 17.

²¹ Daniel Kalimukwa Sifuwe, born 1921; Village: Nawinda; Silalo: Njoko; District: Sesheke.

done on the languages of Bulozi. Moreover, although a number of indications can be drawn from the limited existing linguistic material, these vary widely in value and are in some cases contradictory.

The strongest conclusion that can be reached concerns the problem of the origins of the Luyana language. The groups in the north today all speak dialects of the same language, which is very similar to Siluyana, the present court language in Bulozi.²² While it is possible to suppose that Siluyana was introduced by the new dynasty, the extent to which this language is spoken among the early groups, who seem to have had no other languages, makes such a supposition less likely. Moreover, Siluyana is confined mainly to the north and is spoken in the south only by groups which claim to have come originally from the north.²³ If the new dynasty could impose their language on the groups in the north, it seems quite logical to suppose that they could similarly impose it on the southern groups, given the fact that the time of subjection did not vary too greatly.²⁴ It seems more likely that the Siluyana language was spoken in northern Bulozi by the early migrants and that the later rulers spoke either a language similar to it or adopted it for their court language. If this is so it is necessary to ask whether linguistic evidence provides any indication of the original Luyana area.

In view of the lack of a full survey of the languages of Bulozi and the neighbouring areas in south-west Zambia and eastern Angola, one can only pick up pointers here and there. At various times and by various people, a number of connections between Luyana and other African languages have been suggested.

The earliest suggestion was by the missionary Coillard, of a connection between Siluyana and the Shona languages. He claimed that the Lozi 'perfectly understand my little vocabulary of Sinyai (Shona)-in fact, it is the same language as the Serotsi'.²⁵

²² G. Fortune, 'A note on the language of Barotseland', *Conference of the History of the Central African Peoples*, R.L.I., Lusaka 1963.

²³ E.g. The Mashi, who say they moved south soon after the present dynasty was founded: chief informant on Mashi group was Induna Mooto Mutukwa of Nalolo Kuta. He claims to be a descendant of the Lozi/Mashi ancestor leader Ilshua, who led a group of 'Luyana' to Mashi.

Others include Kwandi groups who claim to have been the group that went with Mwanambinyi south to Senanga following misunderstandings between him and the first Lozi ruler Mboo, who is said in Lozi tradition to have been his brother.

²⁴ Both Mwanambinyi and Ilshua (referred to in note 23 above) are said to have been contemporaries of Mboo, the first male ruler of the new dynasty. Sesheke was finally incorporated into Bulozi by Ngombala (K6).

²⁵ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, Hodder and Stoughton 1897, p. 224.

It is difficult to see how Coillard arrived at this conclusion. The Lozi do not understand Shona, even at the court where Siluyana is spoken.²⁶ This fact is corroborated further by the fact that Professor Fortune, a fluent Shona speaker, carried out a preliminary study of Siluyana in Buluzi in 1963, and he did not make any comment about similarities between Shona and Siluyana. Coillard may have based his conclusions on a misconception, for he states that his knowledge at the time was a 'little vocabulary of Sinyai'.²⁷ It appears therefore that speculation of a linguistic link between the Lozi and the Shona, descendants of the Rozvi, is as weak as the speculation of a physical link between the two groups.²⁸

Much more suggestive is the belief of E. Jacottet, who, after studying texts of Siluyana in 1896-1901 contradicted Coillard and pointed out that the Aluyi could not have come from Mashonaland because 'the language which they speak allows one to set them in the same group as the tribes of the West'.²⁹ Jacottet, however, does not trace Siluyana to the Congo, but points to south-west Angola. He claims that Siluyana is closest to Herero, Ndonga and Kimbundu and in common with them possesses assimilation of vowels. If Jacottet is right, this suggests an Angolan link for the early Luyana groups.

Unfortunately Lozi tradition so far throws no light on the origins of the early northern Lozi. Most of these early groups in the north live in Kalabo district and are in contact with numerous Angolan peoples, particularly the Mbunda. When questioned about their

²⁶ In 1959-60 I obtained a temporary job at the District Commissioner's Office, Mongu. Mr. Mazima, a Shona-speaking businessman, came to Mongu and put in an application to open a bakery. His application had to go before the Paramount Chief. No one was found in either Mongu or at Lealui who could speak or understand Shona.

²⁷ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p. 224.

²⁸ Mutumba Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi', *The Zambezi Past*, pp. 240, 241, 243.

The Lozi-Rozvi theory has become so weak as not to allow any lengthy discussion of it. The theory may have been started by the missionaries. Coillard, faced with the general characteristics of Bantu kingdoms, quickly drew conclusions between the two he knew; viz. the old Rozvi Kingdom and Buluzi.

There is no tradition within Buluzi to support the Lozi-Rozvi link. Mr. Neo Zaza gave the only full account of the theory. It has since, however, become clear that he has read a lot of missionary writings and does not draw a precise distinction between what he has read and what is tradition.

As to remembered contacts between the two groups none was discovered that went beyond the nineteenth century.

David Phillipson referring to parallels drawn by some archaeologists between the Rozvi and the Lozi, commented that despite some similarities Rhodesian Iron Age is quite distinct from the Lozi groups. Livingstone, November 1968.

²⁹ E. Jacottet, *Etudes sur les langues du Haut Zambèze*, p. 128, note 3.

relationships, however, the Lozi deny any ethnological connections and say they understand Mbunda and various Angolan languages because of geographical proximity only.³⁰ Interestingly a similar conclusion was reached through comparative study of Siluyana and the Mbunda language:

A casual glance through the Silui and Simbunda vocabularies will reveal many similarities which go to prove that the two tribes have been in conjunction both closely and for a long period while the even more numerous dissimilarities equally prove the two tribes to be of quite separate and distinct origin.³¹

It is, however, difficult to obtain a full picture of possible Lozi links with Angola because of the present political division between Portuguese-held Angola with its internal unrest and the independent Republic of Zambia. This situation does not only make it difficult to have the Angolan side of the story, but the people in Zambia or Bulozi are reluctant to identify themselves too closely with Angolans. This is to a great extent expressed through their emphasis on being Lozi.³²

This research has, however, raised some other possibilities. First of all it has been suggested that Kwangwa, which is one of the Luyana languages,³³ has some resemblance to the Bemba language, which is of a Congo and Luban origin.³⁴ In the course of this study, I came across a Kwangwa woman who was living in Kasama in the Northern Province. She claimed that her Kwangwa linguistic background enabled her to understand a good deal of Bemba

³⁰ *Induna Mukwamandi Manungwa, born 1925. Village: Litapuya; Tribe: Makoma; Kuta: Litapuya; District: Kalabo.

Induna Simioti Monde, born 1902. Village: Kangongo in Namatindi; Silalo: Mapungu; District: Kalabo.

Induna Sipaka Mundia, born 1902. Tribe: Lozi (original Lozi); Silalo: Mapungu; District: Kalabo; Village: Namukuyu.

Induna Iwake Wakumelo: Tribe: claims to be 'pure' Lozi; Kuta: Ikatumlwa; District: Kalabo.

³¹ D. E. C. Stirke and A. W. Thomas, *A Comparative Vocabulary of Sikololo-Silui-Simbunda*, John Bale, Sons and Danielsson Ltd., London 1916, p. 6.

³² During the 1963 History of Central African Peoples Conference in Lusaka, the suggestion that the Nyengo people were not Lozi brought out an angry outburst from Mr. Maimbolwa Sakubita, then a senior member in the Civil Service. Mr. Sakubita comes from Lukona.

It is also interesting that despite mixing and inter-tribal marriages in Bulozi, there are people in Kalabo who claim to be 'pure' Lozi and descendants of the Lozi ancestress Mbuyu.

³³ Kwangwa graded as 91 per cent Siluyana by Fortune.

³⁴ Re Bemba/Luba, see A. D. Roberts, *A Political History of the Bemba (North Eastern Zambia) to 1900*, Thesis for Ph.D., University of Wisconsin 1966 (unpublished), p. 63.

vocabulary.³⁵ Further, evidence for a possible link between Siluyana and Luba languages is provided by the Nkoya. Sinkoya has been classified with the Luba group of languages.³⁶ It is interesting to note that there is a permanent Nkoya band at the Lozi Court and the Nkoya songs are understood by the Siluyana speaking Lozi rulers. Finally in the course of my fieldwork, I took copies of some of the published Royal Praises and praise names of the Lunda of Kazembe to Luyana-speaking Indunas at the Kuta at Nalolo, the southern capital of Bulozhi. The Indunas were quick in pointing out that the language of the praises was not Luyana and yet they understood the general meaning of the text whose English translation I had. The point here is that Royal Praises associated with Kazembe kingship and aristocracy are in Luba.³⁷ Could it be, then, that the early northern groups had Luba connections?

Although everything in the linguistic analysis at the moment is purely speculative, it is also suggestive. Of the various suggestions above, the Luba link viewed within the context of the history of north-western Zambia is the most probable. This has led me to favour the thesis of a Lunda-ruling minority establishing itself over large but disunited groups of Luba-speaking groups already settled in the Plain, and subsequently extending its authority over the Tonga-related southerners. There is little direct evidence to illuminate such a process for Bulozhi but such a situation would not be unique to Bulozhi. It would fit into what is known so far of the Luba-Lunda diaspora³⁸ and the settlement pattern of branches of these people in north-western Zambia.

In north-western Zambia incidents of Lunda dynasties establishing themselves over Luba groups are believed to have occurred

³⁵ Mrs. Margaret M. Mutendango, wife of the Provincial Education Officer, Kasama, in 1965.

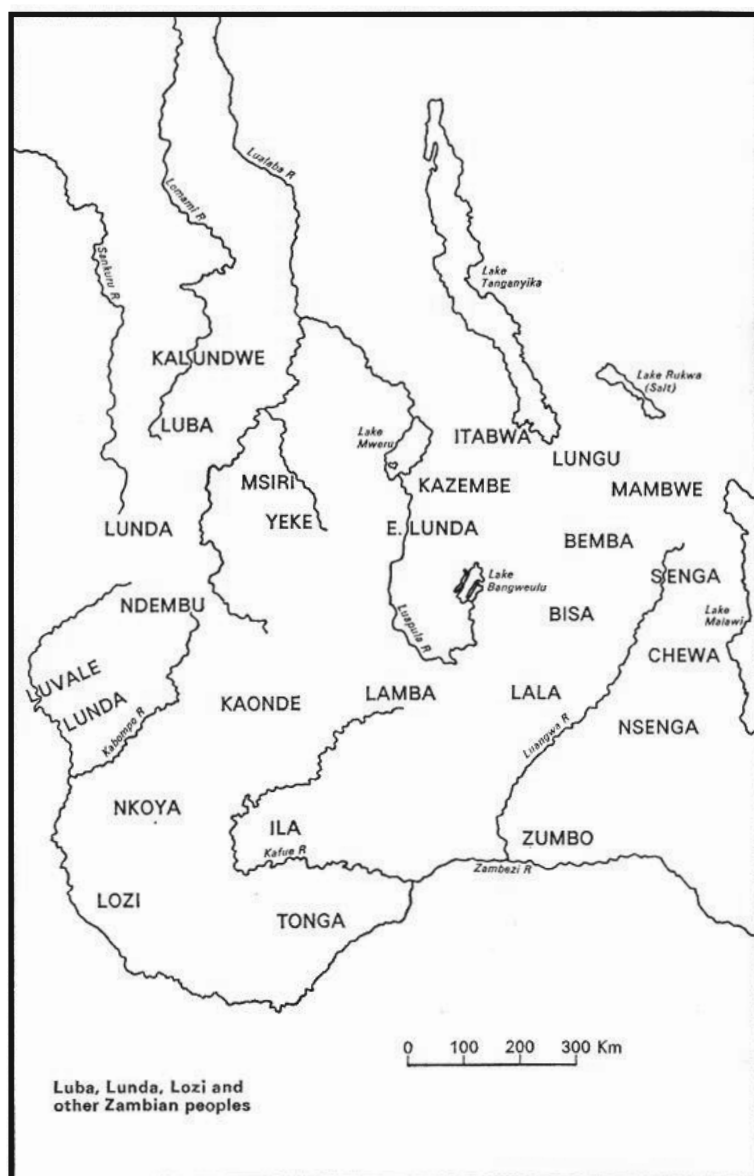
³⁶ V. W. Turner, *The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia: Ethnographic Survey of Africa: West Central Africa*, Part III, International Institute, London 1952, p. 10.

Turner uses information and conclusions of a Moffat Thomson, who classified Nkoya, MaShasha, Lukolwe and Lushange as Luba speaking.

³⁷ 'Royal Praises and Praise Names of the Lunda Kazembe of Northern Rhodesia: The meaning and historical background', translated and annotated by Jacques Chiley Chiwale. *Rhodes Livingstone Communication*, xxv, R.L.I., 1962, Central Bantu Historical Texts III.

³⁸ Henrique Dias de Carvallio, 'A Lunda Love Story and its Consequences'. Selected Texts from Traditions collected by Henrique Dias de Carvallio, translated and annotated by V. W. Turner. *Rhodes Livingstone Journal*, 1955, xix, pp. 1-26. Jan Vansina, 'The foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje', *Journal of African History*, 1963, iv, 3, pp. 355-74. D. Birmingham, 'The Date and Significance of the Imbangala Invasion of Angola', *Journal of African History*, 1965, iv, 2, pp. 143-52.

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among the Lwena (Luvale) and the Mbwela (Nkoya) groups.³⁹ The invaders who established Lunda dynasties among the Lwena and the Mbwela are believed to have been followers of Cinyama, one of the two Lunda princes who left Luunda after the Lunda-Luba merger.⁴⁰ The time of arrival of Cinyama's followers in north-western Zambia remains uncertain and we are compelled to fall back on the date of the Lunda-Luba merger for a guide. The date of the merger is at present contested by two theories. The first of these sets it at the end of the sixteenth century,⁴¹ and the second argues for an earlier date and suggests the early sixteenth century or even the late fifteenth century.⁴² If we accept the earliest possible date of the merger, it appears that the Lunda rulers could have arrived in Zambia any time from the sixteenth century. According to the later alternative, however, the Lunda groups could have started coming only during the seventeenth century.

Traditions of the Nkoya ruling dynasties of Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare claim a common ancestry with the Lozi and the Luvale rulers. According to this tradition Mwambwa and her brother Kanda left Mwata Yamvo at the same time. Kanda remained among the Luvale while Mwambwa and her children, Mboo (later the first Lozi king), Manenga (who is claimed to be the ancestor of the Nkoya of Mutondo) and Isikena (said to be the father of Sihoka or Sihokanalinanga, ancestor of the Nkoya of Kahare) went to Buluzi.⁴³ Interestingly enough, names of the Lozi leaders which feature in Nkoya traditions of origin are those which in Lozi tradition are connected with the founding of the present Lozi

³⁹ C. M. N. White, 'An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization', *Rhodes Livingstone Papers*, 30, Manchester University Press 1960, pp. 46-51. 'The Balovale Peoples and their Historical Background', *Rhodes Livingstone Journal*, R.L., viii, p. 36. 1. G. Cunnison (translated and annotated), 'Historical Traditions of the Eastern Lunda', *Rhodes Livingstone Communication*, xxiii, R.L., 1962, Central Bantu Historical Texts, II, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁰ I. G. Cunnison, 'Historical Traditions of the Eastern Lunda', pp. 5-6. V. W. Turner, 'A Lunda Love Story and its Consequences', pp. 1-26. D. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966, p. 76. C. St John, 'The Westward Expansion of the Lunda Empire', *M.A. Area Studies: Bantu Trade and Politics 1790-1890*, 13 Dec. 1967, unpublished.

⁴¹ J. Vansina, 'The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje', *Journal of African History*, 1963, iv, 3, pp. 355-74.

⁴² D. Birmingham, 'The Date and Significance of the Imbangala Invasion of Angola', *Journal of African History*, 1965, iv, 2, pp. 143-52.

⁴³ Mwene Kahare Kabambi Timuna at Litoya Kuta, Mankoya, 27 April 1964. At first he claimed that the Nkoya came from Buluba, but when he talked of the ancestor leaders Mwambwa and her brother Kanda he changed and referred to Mwata Yamvo.

(footnote continued on next page)

dynasty, thus suggesting even more strongly a possible link between the Lozi and Nkoya ruling dynasties.

A possible Lunda origin for the Lozi dynasty, as already seen, is suggested also in the traditions of other Zambian groups apart from the Nkoya. According to the traditions of the Kazembe Lunda, the founder of the Lozi dynasty was a Lunda general, one Mutanda Yembe, a contemporary of the first Kazembe.⁴⁴ The founding of the Kazembe kingdom in the present Luapula Province is placed in about 1740.⁴⁵ Another set of traditions is provided by the north-western Lunda. According to their traditions the founders of the Lozi dynasty and the Ishinde dynasty were contemporaries of Lunda origin.⁴⁶

C. M. N. White traces back the founding of the Ishinde chieftaincy to the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ The northern traditions then place the founding of the Lozi dynasty in the first half of the eighteenth century. C. M. N. White, however, points out that the list of Lozi kings is much longer than the list of rulers for Kazembe and Ishinde.⁴⁸ White attributes this discrepancy to the unsatisfactory character of Lozi traditions, and also points to the possibility of an earlier Lozi dynasty being replaced in the early eighteenth century by contemporaries of Ishinde and Kazembe. There is, however, a third possible explanation: that the Lozi dynasty preceded the Ishinde and Kazembe dynasties. This would also partly explain the differences in the structures of the Lozi State and the Lunda States in both the Luapula and the North-Western Province.

There were some marked differences in the nature of migrations from the Lunda Old Kingdom between the early groups who departed subsequent to the Luba-Lunda merger and the later migrants of the eighteenth century. The first groups were mainly the

Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila, son of Mwene Mutondo Shiwowa, at Shikombwe Kuta, Mankoya, 21 April 1964. He claimed that Sihoka (Sihokanalinanga), the ancestor of the Nkoya Mutondo dynasty, was a sister of Mwata Yamvo. He denied that any regular contact was maintained between him and the present Mwata Yamvo, but he produced a letter from the latter written in 1959 inviting him to the Congo in order to avoid political troubles then occurring in Northern Rhodesia.

⁴⁴ I. G. Cunnison, 'Historical Traditions of the Eastern Lunda', p. 22.

⁴⁵ I. G. Cunnison, *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, Manchester University Press 1959, p. 39.

⁴⁶ 46C. M. N. White, 'The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi', *African Studies* 1962, xxi, 1, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

adventurers and malcontents who disapproved of the new Luba Lunda structure, while the later groups were part of an expansionist policy on the side of the Mwata Yamvos. The result of this was that later groups on the whole maintained links with the parent group and maintained characteristics which were primarily Lunda.⁴⁹ The kingdom of Kazembe (1740) is now believed to be one of the earliest direct products of a deliberate policy of expansion by the Lunda State of Mwata Yamvo after it had reached its high point of development.⁵⁰ The absence of any explicitly Lunda characteristics within the Lozi State and of any formal links between Bulozhi and Mwata Yamvo suggest that the founding of the Lozi State was not a result of a deliberate and formal policy of expansion. The founders of the Lozi State, if indeed they were Lunda, must have left before the parent Lunda State launched its expansionist policies in the mid-eighteenth century.

The problems in any effort to establish a chronology for the Lozi State are already evident in the above exercise. For the later period of Lozi history to the middle of the nineteenth century one has to rely almost entirely on lists of succession of a single dynasty.⁵¹ For the earlier period of Lozi history prior to the founding of the Luyana dynasty the problem is almost insurmountable. More evidence is necessary before one can even begin to speculate. A guide, however, may be provided by some of the neighbouring groups known to have preceded the Lunda rulers. In north-western Zambia the Lwena and Mbwele are recognised so far as being among the earliest groups from the Congo. According to White, the generation span of some of the best preserved Luvale lineage histories go back to 1550-1600.⁵² A study of the Luba Kingdom shows that migrations from it preceded those from the Lunda centre and had possibly been going on from before the fifteenth century.⁵³

Given the paucity of evidence for the early history of settlement in Bulozhi, it is obviously necessary to make what deductions one can

⁴⁹ C. St John, 'The Westward Expansion of the Lunda Empire', London 1967 (unpublished).

⁵⁰ D. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966, p. 148.

⁵¹ See Appendix, Chronology of the Lozi before the middle of the nineteenth century.

⁵² C. M. N. White, 'The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi', p. 12. For further information on Luvale lineages see C. M. N. White, 'An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization', Rhodes Livingstone Paper, xxx, pp. 16-21, 44, 45.

⁵³ D. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, pp. 11-14. 'The Date and Significance of the Imbangala Invasion of Angola', pp. 143, 150.

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from existing archaeological, linguistic and oral evidence. Angola might hold some interesting and important historical connections for Bulozi in future; this possibility cannot be ruled out completely, given the geographical proximity of the two areas and the trade links which existed to the end of the nineteenth century. Linguists may follow through the suggestive lead of Jacottet and take up some of the historical issues raised.

This study, however, takes up the alternative lead for which it is possible to find some corroborative evidence. It seems reasonable to suppose that the old Lozi or Luyana were part of a general Luba migration into north-western Zambia, and that they arrived in Bulozi at about the same time as the other Luba groups to the north. It also seems reasonable to suppose that the people who introduced Lunda rule to the Upper Zambezi among the Mbwela and the Lwena were part of the same group that went to Bulozi and founded the Lozi dynasty.

2 The founding of the Lozi State and the emergence of a Luyana central kingship

In this chapter and the next an attempt is made to describe the Lozi State system as it existed before the Kololo invasion in the middle of the nineteenth century, and to show how this system had evolved. This is not easy to do.

In the absence of contemporary descriptive records of Lozi institutions for the period before the nineteenth century, one has to rely mainly on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century accounts for a reconstruction of the pre-Makololo Lozi State. This presents a number of problems. First of all, because of the Kololo invasion there is a distortion of the oral evidence. The preKololo period has taken on the character of a myth of 'pure' Lozi institutions before the intrusions from outside. During Lewanika's reign in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a deliberate attempt was made to 'restore the Lozi State'.¹ This meant that Lewanika and his party defined what they took to be the essential Lozi institutions, but such a slogan did not make for a differentiated or historical view of the past.

On the other hand, much written evidence so far suffers from the tendency to talk of Lozi institutions as if they were static, and their descriptions are very much limited to the 'pure' institutions of Lewanika.² Most of the available evidence, therefore, both oral and

¹ See my Chapter 7.

² The earliest recorded descriptions of traditional Lozi institutions are by early European travellers, missionaries and local Colonial Administrators. E.g. 'Administration of Barotseland by Lewanika and former Chiefs', D. C. Lealui to Sec. for Native Affairs, Kalomo, 3 January 1906 in No. 235/1/06 (N.A.Z.). See also relevant section in 'History of Barotseland Notes and Documents, 1900-1936', K.D.E. 2/44/4 (N.A.Z.).

'Barotse Form of Government' based on information by Mataa (the Ngambela Mutiba, Induna Kalonga),
(footnote continued on next page)

written, is concerned with putting forward static models of the Lozi State rather than with exploring its dynamics of change and development. In this chapter an attempt will be made not only to describe but to infer from what evidence exists the broad outlines of development within the Lozi State before the Kololo invasion.

The first problem that has to be tackled is: How did the Lozi State originate? As already seen, establishment traditions in Bulozi of the founding of the Lozi State seek to give it the prestige of a divinely ordained event. The Lozi State is shown as springing up where nothing was before. It has been said in the previous chapter that these traditions give a quite inadequate account of the settlement of Bulozi. They might, however, have a symbolic truth as an account of the founding of the State.

The Lozi State might have been set up through a rapid military conquest, carried out by leaders who brought with them a set of fully developed ideas about administration and political organisation. The Lozi State might have sprung almost fully grown from such a conquest. All indications, however, suggest that this was not the case. The second level of Lozi tradition suggests rather the movement into Bulozi of a number of related leaders and their followers. There is no suggestion that the newcomers constituted a horde or an army, like the later Kololo invasion. They were certainly not always resisted by force of arms.³ In some cases they overthrew and in others they came to terms with existing political authorities.⁴ The process seems to have been a gradual one.

If the newcomers were Lunda, as suggested in the previous chapter, it would not appear that they brought with them an evolved system of state centralisation, for there are few explicit Lunda echoes in Lozi political institutions and history.⁵

K.D.E. 2/44/18(N.A.Z.).

R. V. Roach, 'Notes on Lozi Institutions', 1907-20 in Mongu District Notebook, K.D.E. 10/I i, pp. 30-4. Reference will be made to certain studies of Lozi institutions by Professor Max Gluckman, a full list of whose works on Bulozi appears in the Bibliography.

³ Muhongo Sakanga: said to have been over 100 years old in 1963. Village: Nalitoya Liunga; District: Mongu-Lealui. According to the version by Mr. Sakanga the newcomers won their following by their great generosity.

⁴ For instance lists of groups conquered by Mbooi the first king are always given in all traditions, but at the same time there is the story of the friendly encounter with one Isimwaa at Mutungi; Jalla, 1921, p. 4. Sikota Akufuna typescript, p. 2.

⁵ For a general description of Lunda political organisation following the Luba-Lunda merger see: D. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, The Clarendon Press 1966, pp. 76-7. I. Cunison, 'Perpetual Kingship: A Political Institution of the Luapula Peoples', *Rhodes Livingstone Journal*, 1956, 20, pp. 28-48.

Founding of the Lozi State and emergence of Luyana central kingship

It appears from the various Lozi oral traditions that the situation was something like this: the new leaders were related to each other, and in tradition they are all referred to as 'children' of the ancestress Mbuyu. They came to form a ruling family, at first in Kalabo District in the north-west of Bulozo Plain. It is in Kalabo District that the grave sites of early members of the Lozi dynasty are situated, and where most of the places and place names which feature in tradition about the early Lozi rulers are still identifiable today.⁶ One of these leaders, Mboo Mwanasilundu Muyunda, came to be accepted as paramount and ranks in tradition as the first Lozi king. But Mboo's kingdom was neither very extensive nor very centralised.

Mboo is said to have fought and conquered the ba Mishulundu, ba Namale, ba Imulangu, ba Upangoma, ba Liuwa, ba Muenyi and Mambowe.⁷ (All these groups are identifiable in Kalabo District.) His attempts to expand eastwards along the Luena Flats⁸ are said to have been prevented by the people of Sihokanalinanga, probably a Nkoya group.⁹ The peoples said to have been conquered by Mboo are today dispersed very widely over Bulozo as a result of migration and inter-marriage. But their indigenous home areas remain identifiable and in most instances tribal names are linked with place names.¹⁰ We can safely say that all the groups conquered by Mboo were then resident within the present Kalabo District. We can equally safely dismiss Lewanika's claim in 1903 that Mboo conquered the Mbunda, Lunda and Luvale areas¹¹ to which the Lozi claim remains questionable to this day. The claim that Mboo

⁶ For example *Mutungi* Pan, which features in all variants of Lozi traditions concerning the Lozi encounter with Isimwaa (from whom they claim to have copied their basic institutions of kingship), is situated in the Plain between Lukona Old Station and Kama on the Zambezi. It is twenty-two miles from the present Lozi capital of Lealui.

See 'Places of interest, Kalabo District', K.D.E. 2/44/4 (N.A.Z.).

See also the location of Kalamba Forest on the map of Bulozo Plain where the newcomers used to collect firewood, and from which direction their bitter enemies the Andoni used to come.

Re Kalamba Forest in Lozi tradition see: A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, 1921, p. 6.

⁷ A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, p. 5. Sikota Akufuna typescript p. 4.

⁸ Mboo's unsuccessful attempt to conquer Sihokanalinanga, Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 15.

During the reign of Yeta (K4) Sihokanalinanga is said to have lived on the east side of the Zambezi across the Luena River. Jalla, *Litaba*, p. 13.

⁹ Sihokanalinanga or Sihoka has been identified as one of the Nkoya ancestors by *Mwene Kahare Kabambi Timuna*, ruler of the Mashasha branch of the Nkoya since 1952. He was born in 1921. Litoya Kuta; District: Mankoya.

¹⁰ E.g. Upangoma and Upangoma River; Imilangu and Imilangu Lake; Liuwa and Liuwa Plain.

¹¹ Copy of Affidavit by Lewanika as to genealogy of kings of Barotseland, 5 June 1903, before Justice of Peace, F. Aitken. K.D.E. 2/44/x4.

conquered the Mbunda and the Luvale in the west is made the more questionable by the existence in most Lozi traditions of accounts about the Andonyi who until the reign of Inyambo (K2) made it hazardous for the Lozi to go as far west as the Kalamba Forest. The Andonyi were never conquered but are said to have died in large numbers as a result of medicine and the rest retreated further into the Lukona Forest.¹² Mboo was king of Kalabo and of little else.

If Mboo's kingdom was territorially small, the evidence suggests that it was also not very effectively centralised. A small group of men and women, referred to in tradition as Mboo's 'brothers' and 'sisters', seem to have been in charge of the first territorial units, and to have had the right to create their own groupings of men for military and labour purposes known in tradition as *Makolo*, and to place these Makolo groupings under leaders of their own choice.

In this way it is said that Ingalamwa was given the 'country' of Mukola, Inyambo was given Sikuli, Mwanawina was given Sikongo across the Luena River, Yeta was given Mwandi, Mboanjikana (f) was given Libonda, Nakatindi (f) was given Sesheke and Namakau (f) was given Kwandu.¹³ These members of the ruling family founded their own Makolo on the same basis as did Mboo the recognised king. Thus Mboo created the Likolo of Nundwe and placed it under the leadership of Noyoo. In the same way his sister Mboanjikana founded the Likolo of Mbi under the leadership of Muleta; Namakau founded the Likolo of Mbanda under Muyumbana; and Nakatindi founded the Likolo of Nundwana.¹⁴ Mboo presided, it would seem, over a confederation of Lozi royals - a situation very different indeed from that which eventually came about in which the king alone controlled the Makolo and other 'royals' enjoyed little or no administrative power.

At the same time it is clear that yet other members of the 'royal' group broke away altogether from Mboo's suzerainty following disputes within the royal dynasty. Full and detailed accounts, albeit mythical ones, are given - of two such divisions, which partially succeeded in establishing rival centres to Mboo's political power.

¹² Jalla, 1921, pp. 5 and 6; Sikota Akufuna typescript, p. 26.

¹³ A. Jalla, *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi*, Oxford University Press 1959, p. 10. Lozi tradition has it that it was from these original placings of 'royals' that Libonda for instance is linked with the title of Mboanjikana; and Yeta III (Litia), ruler 1916-46, had a village named Mwandi.

¹⁴ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 10. Barotse Provincial Notebook Vol. II K.D.E. 10/2 (N.A.Z.). M. Gluckman, 'Administrative Organization of the Barotse Native Authorities, with a plan for reforming them', *Rhodes Livingstone Institute Communication*, 1943, I, p. 52.

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The first group to break away went south into the present Senanga District under the leadership of Mwanambinyi, who according to Lozi tradition was Mboo's younger brother. The struggle for power between Mboo and Mwanambinyi has become the subject of a rich variety of oral accounts.¹⁵ Mwanambinyi is credited with supernatural powers through which he is said to have outwitted his elder brother Mboo and eventually incurred his hatred. Sometimes the accounts tell of a challenge by Mwanambinyi to his brother Mboo to jump across the Zambezi River, which feat Mwanambinyi accomplishes by turning into a bird. Sometimes they tell of shooting matches or of contests between the fighting bulls of the two brothers; through magic Mwanambinyi wins the shooting match and his bull the fight.

Stories of this kind, in which a younger brother demonstrates more supernatural power than the formal possessor of office, are common in Central African oral history. Mwanambinyi's story ends as such tales commonly do with the flight of the wonder worker to escape the jealous hatred of more ordinary men. Mwanambinyi is said to have captured large herds of cattle across the Luena where Mboo had previously been defeated;¹⁶ the jealous Mboo plotted to kill his brother; Mwanambinyi saved himself from death in all sorts of miraculous ways but at last fled with his people to the present Senanga District.

Mwanambinyi's followers, the so-called Akwandi or Makwandi,¹⁷ were evidently numerous. It also seems that Mwanambinyi had a

¹⁵ A. Jalla, 'Mwanambinyi and his miracles', *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, 1921, pp. 8-10.

Sikota Akufuna typescript, pp. 4-5. Accounts of Mwanambinyi's life were also given by: Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende (aged about 60 in 1962); Village: Nalutunda Nalilowa; Silalo: Ukolo; District: Senanga.

Ndate Muyunda Wamunungo (aged about 80 in 1962); Village: Silele; Silalo: Ukolo; District: Senanga.

Induna Kakene Sianga Mubita (born about 1891); Village: Liany; District: Senanga.

The title of Kakene is traced back to the first Ngambela of Mwanambinyi.

¹⁶ Lozi tradition identifies the people from whom Mwanambinyi captured cattle as Nkoya and sometimes as Luvala. Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende talked of Sinyama a Luvala. Jalla and Induna Kakene Sianga Mubita on the other hand referred to Sihokanalinanga a Nkoya.

Nkoya tradition is divided on this issue. The Nkoya of Mutondo deny the existence of hostilities between the Nkoya and the Lozi before the Makololo.

Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila: Kuta: Shikombwe; District: Mankoya

The Nkoya of Mwene Kahare had a different version and alluded to the incident concerning Mwanambinyi and Sihoka or Sihokanalinanga.

Mwene Kahare Kabarnbi Timuna: Kuta: Litoya; District: Mankoya. It is believed the name Kwandi or Akwandi comes from the Luyala word for 'fish'; Mwanambinyi's followers came to be known as Akwandi because they were great fishermen and lived on fish.

¹⁷ It is believed the name Kwandi or Akwandi comes from the Luyala word for 'fish'; Mwanambinyi's followers came to be known as Akwandi because they were great fishermen and lived on fish.

number of officials attached to him who moved with him to Senanga. Among these were Imafua, his sister,¹⁸ his Likombwa, or chief stewards, Anawi and Mbulunga, and his Ngambela (Prime Minister) Kakene. These titles still survive in Senanga District and their present holders trace their histories back to Mwanambinyi.¹⁹

Once established in Senanga, Mwanambinyi extended and consolidated his power, conquering the disorganised Mbukushu and MaSubiya, resettling them and setting up an administration over them with the aid of his son, Mulia.²⁰

Meanwhile conflict developed between Mboo and another 'royal', Mange, who today is looked upon as the ancestor of the Makwangwa tribe. Mange is said to have been the son of Mboo's sister, Nolea. It seems Mange broke away from the main Lozi group because he was denied participation in government. Tradition has it that he used to go to his 'uncles' and demand in Siluyana '*Munangeko ku mbumu*', meaning 'give me part of the chieftaincy'.²¹

It seems that on leaving Kalabo District Mange and his followers crossed to the eastern side of the Zambezi near the Luena River, and then came southwards to the forest in the north of the present Mongu Lealui District. (Probably they were stopped from advancing eastwards along the Luena by the Nkoya of Sihokanalinanga who is said to have been their neighbour during the reign of Ngalama (14).)²² While the Lozi were still confined to the northwest of the Plain, Mange, who is said to have been a great hunter, hunted in the Plain in Mongu Lealui District and below the present Sefula Mission. In the Plain there is a clump of trees known as Matondo Mange or the trees of Mange, because Mange is said to have hunted there frequently.²³

It is clear from this early history of decentralisation of power and the establishment of rival and breakaway groups that the later movement towards centralisation, towards the growth of the power

¹⁸ Imafua was given Sinungu Silalo by her brother Mwanambinyi in the present Senanga District. *Senanga District: Villages and Places of Note*, No. 10 in K.D.E. 2/44/4a (N.A.Z.).

¹⁹ For instance: Induna Kakene Sianga Mubita: Village: Lianyi; District: Senanga. I did not meet the holder of the title Mbulunga in the course of this research, but when I visited Lianyi Kuta I was told by the Induna Kakene that Mbulunga resided at Imatongo the original village site of Mwanambinyi.

²⁰ A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, 1921, p. 9. Thomas J. Larson, 'Epic Tales of the Mbukushu', *African Studies*, 1963, xxii, 4, p. 176.

²¹ N. S. Ikacana, *Litaba za Makwangwa*, N.R. Publications Bureau 1964, p. 5.

²² A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 13.

²³ N. S. Ikacana, *Litaba za Makwangwa*, p. 3. The clump of trees is visible from both Sefula Mission Station and Mongu Boma.

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of the king over other 'royals', and towards the extension of the area of Lozi influence, did not arise out of the sort of assumptions which the Lunda invaders brought with them, but more from the total environment of Bulozhi itself. This early situation changed fairly rapidly. The Lozi king, far from being a sort of *primus inter pares*, became uniquely prestigious, the other 'royals' ceased to be chiefs by right of birth, and the breakaway groups were followed up and conquered.

How did all this come about? How and why did the Lozi develop a highly organised state system? The military strength of the Kalabo group provides one answer to this fascinating query. Lozi tradition has a level of narrative history which helps to explain in terms of the personality of kings and the detailed events of war and diplomacy why the Kalabo centre expanded its powers and why it rather than any of the breakaway groups became the growth point of the Lozi State.

Thus, for example, Ngalama (K4) emerges from tradition as in some senses the true founder of the Lozi State. It is from Ngalama that a continuous dynasty of Lozi kings is traced.²⁴ And it is Ngalama who is shown as the conqueror of the breakaway states of Mwanambinyi and Mange.²⁵

Once again the stories emphasise the supernatural. Mwanambinyi is supposed to have hidden himself in the mist or obstructed the invaders with floods or droughts. At last, weary of constant war, he is said to have disappeared with his followers and cattle into the ground at Imatongo.²⁶ As for Mange, after a series of victories, he apparently quarrelled with his mother Nolea over a girl and was subsequently betrayed by his mother's surrender to the enemy of his protective charms.²⁷

These stories clearly refer to real and important historic events. Mange's people, the *Akangwa Mange* or those who failed Mange, today known as the Kwangwa, were pushed further from the valley

²⁴ See Appendix on Luyana genealogies.

²⁵ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, pp. 7 and 9.

²⁶ A detailed account of Mwanambinyi's death was given among others by Ndate Muyunda Wamunungo: Village: Silele; Silalo: Ukolo; District: Senanga. Imatongo is to this day treated with all ceremony, reverence and ritual similar to that performed at grave sites of the former Lozi kings. (I have personally witnessed people giving the royal salute as they went by Imatongo.)

For more information on Imatongo see: *Senanga District: Villages and Places of Note*, in K.D.E. 2/44/4a (N.A.Z.).

²⁷ A. Jalla, 1921, pp. 7-8.

into the eastern forest and now live in the Mongu Lealui Forest.²⁸ The Lozi State, no longer restricted to Kalabo, dominated the flood plain and had destroyed any possible rival.

But at the same time as we examine these stories of wars we need to take into account other types of explanation. The strength of the Kalabo kingship was not merely military but depended on the evolution of a successful royal cult. And over and above the detailed history of which ruler defeated whom, there were the impulses to centralisation which sprang out of the whole environment.

At the heart of the Lozi State is the institution of kingship, or putting it more broadly, the royal cult. The Lozi king came to be recognised as the head of the social, economic and administrative structures of the whole State.

The Lozi hold that all members of the royal family have divine ancestry through their descent from Mbuyu, daughter of God. This divine ancestry endows an individual with *mali a silena* (royalty) and makes him eligible for the kingship. But all this in itself does not explain why the Lozi king - only one of the many male possessors of 'mali a silena' - became so dominant over all other 'royals'. The office of kingship came to have its own immense prestige. Once chosen the king was elevated above all others by a number of ceremonies and rituals. At the time of his installation a prince goes through a series of purification rites.²⁹ Once these rituals are performed and the prince is invested with the insignia of power and presented to the public, he suddenly becomes surrounded by mystery and ritualism. His public appearances are restricted and he can communicate with the people only through an intermediary. The king's elevation is demonstrated further through the use of figurative speech when referring to his person and objects of his household.³⁰ The mere assumption of office then puts the king in a special class away from ordinary human beings.

²⁸ The Kwangwa today live mainly in the forest area of Mongu Lealui District known as 'Makanda' meaning 'lakes' in Sikwangwa; Makanda includes lakes such as Makapaela, Nalulao, Nanjeko, Ikabako, Simulumbwe, etc.

See 'Places of interest - Mongu-Lealui District', in Mongu District Notebook, i, p. 432, K.D.E. 10/1 (N.A.Z.).

²⁹ Installation rituals are kept very secret. The most important rituals take place at Makono, the grave of the ancestress figure Mbuyu.

³⁰ A number of examples were given by Princess Nakatindi, Mulena Mukwae of Sesheke and daughter of Yeta III. District: Sesheke. For special names used for some of the objects of the Royal Household see K.D.E. 2/44/4/19, p. 3 (N.A.Z.). See also an account of the etiquette at the capital in Mumbuna Mufaya, *Muzibe za Muleneni*, Macmillan 1960. The translation of this title reads: 'Know how to behave in the capital'.

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The special position of the king continues even after his death. On dying, he is believed to take on another form and become even more powerful than during his first lifetime for he can now influence the fortunes of individuals and the nation as a whole. Thus a dead king is buried in a site formerly chosen by him.³¹ The site is guarded by a number of people chosen to come with their families to build a village and live near the grave. Among these villagers is a special official known as *Nomboti* or *Nameto*³² whose duty is to look after the grave and to attend to the needs of the departed king and perform the task of an intermediary between him and the people. *Nomboti* is supposed to have powers to communicate with the dead king. He presents offerings from individuals seeking special favours of the spirit of the departed king, whether good luck in hunting or good health, and also performs official sacrifices on behalf of the nation. In case of national disaster such as drought, famine or war, the reigning king produces sacrifice in the form of an ox or whatever is deemed necessary and this is presented to *Nomboti*. After the animal is slaughtered, *Nomboti* takes the suitable parts and presents them to the spirit on the *Limwata* (an opening on the grave through which the dead king is supposed to receive offerings). He implores the spirit to intervene on behalf of the nation and then after this communication goes to report to the king (either at the capital or wherever he may be waiting) for the reply from the spirit.

The dead kings, through their *Linomboti*, have also an important role in the policy making of the country. If an important decision has to be made the spirits are consulted in a similar pattern to that described above and their verdict guides the nation or to be precise the reigning king and his immediate advisers. The dead spirits are also consulted for precedence.

At the election of a new king, the candidate has to be presented and accepted by his predecessors. This is done partly at the time of

³¹ The late Litunga Sir Mwanawina III who died in November 1968 had chosen Liyoyelo as his village and many people were shocked when this decision was reversed after his death and he was buried somewhere else. The traditionalists explained their reasons: Liyoyelo (place of life or salvation) so called because it was connected with Lewanika's escape and return to power in 1884-5, could not become a grave site; it should stay 'liyoyelo'. It is significant though that this objection was not raised while the Litunga was still alive.

³² The account of the royal graves and the duties of *Linomboti* was very difficult to obtain, since they are all strictly controlled by the Litunga. The account here, however, was obtained from someone closely linked with the Royal Graves Institution and who has lived in a *Sitino* or village on a royal grave for over twenty years.

Liyamine Ndate Sitali: Village: Mulumbo (Yeta III's grave site); Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

installation when some special rituals have to be performed on the grave sites of the ancestress Mbuyu at Makono and the first king, Mboo.³³

After the installation the new ruler goes on a tour of all the grave sites in the country making sacrifices and seeking the approval and blessings of his predecessors.³⁴

The death of a king is symbolically presented as the death of the whole nation in that all fires are put out (fire, the source of life, gives warmth, light in darkness and is used for cooking food) and a new fire is lit by the new king and then all the inhabitants relight their fires, supposedly from the original flame lit ceremonially by the new monarch. The nation is, as it were, resurrected at the time of a new succession.

This is a description of the cult of kingship after it had evolved fully. How and when did it all happen? This is a difficult problem since Lozi tradition does not provide direct answers. None the less some pattern, vague as it may be, can be seen to emerge through a careful examination of all variants of tradition and by a certain amount of inference from what is known today.

If the institution of kingship originated in the valley and was not a result of a major conquest it can hardly have developed as instantly as Lozi tradition implies.³⁵ Lozi kingship attained its developed form over a considerable period of time, by borrowing and copying institutions from neighbouring groups, as well as by development and growth dictated by the environment and ambitions of individual kings. Lozi tradition claims that the idea of kingship was originally impressed on them by, and later borrowed from, Isimwaa, a Ndundulu leader. Isimwaa is also said to have shown the Lozi how to ask for and collect *Mubingu*, whereby each man in the kingdom gave part of his catch or harvest to the king.³⁶ Ndundulu tradition on the other hand goes further than this and claims that after an initial

³³ The succession ceremony and rituals to the southern chieftaincy is sometimes performed at Kwandu, the grave site or Sitino of Ngombala (K6) who in Lozi tradition is credited with the founding of the southern chieftaincy.

³⁴ Note that the missionary Coillard's first encounter with Lewanika in 1886 was while Lewanika was going round on a similar ceremony following his return to power after the 1884–5 rebellion. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, 1897, pp. 216–18.

³⁵ A. Jalla, 'The Origin of the Barotse Nation and of its Royal House', *History, Tradition and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, 1921, p. 4. Sikota Akufuna typescript, pp. 1–2.

³⁶ A. Jalla, 'The Origin of the Barotse Nation', p. 4. Sikota Akufuna typescript, pp. 1–2.

Also account by Thomas Mwandawande Mwikisa Muwindwa: Village: Monga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

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alliance with Isimwaa, the Lozi took over the Ndundulu chieftainship and turned the people into subjection.³⁷

The Lozi, however, borrowed institutions from other groups besides the Ndundulu, and went on doing this for a long time. The Maoma royal and war drums which came to feature so significantly in the installation rituals and ceremonies (installation rituals are always completed with the king sitting on one of the Maoma drums) were not introduced into Lozi kingship until the reign of Ngalama (K4) who is said to have captured them from Mwanambinyi who in turn had captured them from the Mbukushu at Katimamulilo.³⁸

While this borrowing and copying was going on considerable internal developments were simultaneously taking place. One obvious example is the case of the institution of the royal graves. There is nothing in the evidence to suggest that the previous inhabitants of the valley possessed such an institution. The origin of the royal graves is traced back in tradition to Mboo, whose spirit is said to have moved from the place in which he was buried at lkatulamwa to a place of his own choosing at Imwambo.³⁹ The first reference and full account of ceremonial sacrifice to the ancestor spirits on royal graves does not occur, however, until the reign of Ngombala (K6).⁴⁰ The background story to the sacrifice and ceremony on the graves, on the other hand, gives the impression this was the first of its scale if not of its kind.⁴¹ It would seem that over a period of time the new rulers built up the cult of the royal graves and generally created around themselves a sacred myth, setting the king above scrutiny and criticism. No doubt Ngalama's conquests were of crucial importance in this process since they destroyed the rival centres of supernatural and ritual power. Once dead, Mwanambinyi and Mange could be incorporated into the system of the royal graves.

The mystical power of the king was of course closely related to his functions within the economy and society of the Lozi Plain. It is to

³⁷ Kalabo District Note Book, K.S.H. 2/1 (N.A.Z.).

³⁸ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 14 and 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends*, 1921, p. 12.

⁴¹ Mbanga, Ngombala's son and the second ruler in the south, is said to have ascended to heaven where he acquired great wisdom from Nyambe (God). He also asked Nyambe for animals, and it was from these animals sent by Nyambe to Bulozhi at Mbanga's request that a herd of cattle was picked for sacrifice on the Royal Graves. Jalla, 1921, pp. 1-4. This is a strange story since the story of creation, when Nyambe and man, Kamunu, and all animals lived on earth is always told and put long before the founding of the Lozi State. Jalla, 1959, pp. 1-5.

this environment, with all its influences towards centralisation, that we must now turn.

As stated in the Introduction, the central part of the Lozi kingdom is a large, flat, Flood Plain, inundated annually from about January to May by the Zambezi overflowing its banks. The people of the Plain are compelled to build their villages on artificial mounds (*Liuba*), but when the floods reach their height even these have to be abandoned in favour of the forest area. Despite the annual moves, however, the people regard the Plain as their permanent home and always return to it when the floods begin to recede. The Plain is edged on both sides by forest. The people of the Plain and those in the forest are economically interdependent as each region has products peculiar to its environment and depends on the other to supply those which cannot be produced by itself. For instance, the people in the Flood Plain have to turn to the forest for wood and wooden canoes, bark for ropes, honey, beeswax, and numerous other products which cannot be obtained in the Plain. On the other hand, the forest people come to the Plain for cattle, milk and fish.

In this environment there were obvious influences towards centralisation of political institutions. Residence in the valley meant a way of life for the Lozi very different from any of the surrounding people, a fact which in turn gave them a special form of identity and cohesion. The tendency towards permanent settlement on the Plain produced a degree of stability, making it possible to control people much more easily than with the small scattered settlements of most of their neighbours, and favouring the development of a highly centralised territorial administration. The centralising function of the king had very clear practical consequences in such an environment. Mound building and canal construction for drainage and transportation were activities that required large scale organised labour. The Lozi king became the director of the public works of the kingdom.

Finally, Lozi economic dependence on the forest people led to their desire to control and dominate the sources whence the required goods came. Once conquered, the surrounding tribes provided the Lozi not only with labour, but also an annual tribute of products obtainable in their areas.

The colonisation of the surrounding areas was facilitated by a number of factors. In the first place, the Plain is at the centre of river routes from all directions. Secondly, the Plain was the economic

heart of the region. It differed from all neighbouring areas more than any two of these areas between themselves, and hence to each of these areas some form of economic link with the Plain was more important than any number of associations among themselves. Finally it should be remembered that the neighbours of the Lozi on both sides of the Plain comprised small decentralised groups which presented little resistance to the Lozi.

The environmental influences of Bulozhi interacted with the ambitions of the new rulers to produce the detailed institutions of the Lozi State. It is difficult to analyse how this occurred in the case of each and every Lozi institution because oral tradition does not provide sufficient evidence. None the less what happened to the Makolo system, mentioned earlier in this chapter,⁴² provides an interesting illustrative example.

It is clear from oral tradition that the Makolo institution dates from the very earliest days of the Lozi State, since as already seen the 'brothers' and 'sisters' of Mboo raised their own Makolo. It is possible that the Makolo originated as bands of followers, linked by family ties in many cases, who moved with their leader on hunting or military expeditions or on migrations further afield. In the early days of loose political organisation and small population, Makolo may have corresponded to territorial or settlement units. This latter supposition appears the more probable since each 'brother' and 'sister' of Mboo presided over a territorial unit and the Likolo each created must have been contained within his particular territorial unit.

Makolo bands may have entered Bulozhi with the Lunda founders of the present dynasty or may have been the basis for social and political organisation of the earlier less settled and decentralised Lozi settlers. If Makolo were introduced by the new Lunda leaders, Lunda penetration of Bulozhi was clearly very different from, say, the Ndebele conquest of Matebeleland. There was no question of 'regiments' becoming the basis of territorial organisation once the 'army' had come to a halt. In Bulozhi the village settlement was basic; as will be seen, the village or cluster of villages became the fundamental unit of administration and justice.

But the Makolo system did not die out. Rather it developed in response to the needs of the Plain. It was harnessed to the growing complex of public works, to the system of trade and exchange

⁴² See pp. 25-6.

controlled by the king, and to the military needs of the expanding Lozi State.

At its height the Makolo system encompassed all men, women and children in Bulozi.⁴³ Every Lozi automatically became a member of a Likolo from birth, belonging either to his father's or guardian's Likolo. The Makolo were not primarily military units (as were the regiments of the Ngoni or the Ndebele), and the common translation of Likolo as 'regiment' is misleading. The Makolo were rather kinship, labour and 'patronage' units.

At the head of each Likolo was an *Induna* or Councillor who resided at the capital, where each Likolo was allotted a special site. Whenever anyone came to the capital he stayed in the area reserved for his Likolo and communicated through the representative head of his Likolo with the king and his advisers. In this way the ordinary man could obtain a hearing and safeguard his individual interests and at the same time influence national policy. All Makolo had names and the leadership of each Likolo went with a certain title, so that on succeeding to a title an *Induna* automatically became leader of a Likolo.

Evidence of the growing power of the central kingship is reflected in the fact that as time went on it became solely the privilege of the king to create new Makolo, and to appoint their leaders. The earlier Makolo created by the 'brothers' and 'sisters' of Mboo the first king, either 'disappeared' or came directly under the control of one authority, the king, who alone had the power to appoint all Makolo leaders. The king could call upon fighting men in the Likolo or Makolo to carry out a raid. If there was some public work to be done, the king or his representative could call on Makolo or sections of Makolo to report for duty at different times. This did not necessarily mean summoning people from all corners of the country, for if work was confined to one region, only Makolo members of that region were summoned. The main leader of each Likolo, on the other hand, travelled all over the country where his followers resided although he had recognised regional assistants.

Apart from special jobs to which Makolo were now and then

⁴³ For descriptions of the Institution of Makolo see: R. V. Roach, 'Notes on Lozi Institutions', *Mongu District Notebook*, i, p. 34, K.D.E. 10/1 (N.A.Z.). Mataa - the Ngambela and Mubita - the *Induna* Kalonga, *Barotse Form of Government*, 1921, p. 4, K.D.E. 2/44/18 (N.A.Z.). Information on Makolo was also obtained from a number of oral informants, none of whom gave descriptions as full as those referred to above but whose evidence tended to corroborate most points in articles quoted here.

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summoned, each Likolo had particular and regular duties assigned to it. Thus for instance the Likolo of Njeminwa had the regular duty of producing salt.⁴⁴ However, since not everybody in Njeminwa lived near salt deposits, the duty was assigned to those members who lived in the salt-producing areas. The produce thus collected was delivered to the capital at regular intervals through the chief resident representative of the Likolo at the capital.⁴⁵

It is difficult to give a chronological analysis of the full evolution of the Makolo into the form described above. The Makolo institution was never static and up to the end of the nineteenth century new Makolo were being created and new modifications were being made to them.⁴⁶ The Makolo institution, like others of the Lozi State, evolved gradually over a long period of time.

It seems, however, that the reign of Yeta I (K₃) marked a key phase in the development of the Makolo. After Yeta's reign there were no more new Makolo created by any 'royal' other than the reigning king.⁴⁷ If Mboo (K₁) appears as the founder and Ngalama (K₄) as the expander of the Lozi State, Yeta I, whose reign fell between that of the other two great kings, can be seen as its consolidator. Yeta I has a special place in the traditions both of the Lozi and their neighbours. It is significant that many more royal praise songs and sayings referring to Yeta survive than for his predecessors. Some of the Mbunda groups living at the time to the north-west of Kalabo have traditions about the Lozi which go back to Yeta I. From the Mbalango of Mwene Mundu come traditions which recall the wise and famous rule of Yeta I and say that it was during his reign that the existence and power of the Aluyi was brought to their notice.⁴⁸ In short, it seems that during Yeta's reign the power of the central Lozi kingship in Kalabo was recognised both by the Lozi and their neighbours.

One of the praise songs about Yeta is worth citing here for the glimpse it gives of the qualities - and the wealth - of this early Lozi king:

⁴⁴ Induna Biundwanono O. M. Wamundila: Village: Silele; Silalo: Ukolo; District: Senanga.

⁴⁵ Induna Biundwanono O. M. Wamundila.

⁴⁶ Lewanika during the last quarter of the nineteenth century created the Likolo of Mooka under Solami, and also several subsections of Makolo which he placed under Likombwa. This was the first time that Likombwa were given leadership of Makolo (see p. 37 following).

⁴⁷ After the Nalolo kingship was founded during Ngombala's reign (K₆), the Nalolo ruler could create subsections of Makolo but they were always attached to the main Makolo in the north and could not therefore operate independently except when sanctioned from the north.

⁴⁸ Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu u amuhela bo Mwene*, Macmillan 1958, p. 2.

There are many Yetas praised in the kingdom of the Lozi.
One is Yeta the owner of Tungolo⁴⁹ in the western forest,
The other is Yeta Mwambwa who is interested in cattle manage-
ment, The other is Yeta, the merciful and the sympathetic one,
He who makes friendships between two men who are enemies
towards each other...
Whose herds of cattle called Nalikolo are numerous.
When out grazing they cover miles and miles of land.⁵⁰

Yeta is not remembered as a warrior. His success was based on his consolidation of the Lozi State. No doubt the campaigns of Ngalama owed much of their success to the internal strength attained by the Kalabo kingdom.

We know that control of the Makolo was achieved by Yeta I. We know also that he had come to control many of the economic resources of the Plain. But more than this was needed to produce a strong kingship. The king's control could not be exercised single handed. If he was not to continue to rely upon the other members of the royal family, the king had to create a bureaucratic aristocracy. These came to be known generally as Indunas.

We can only speculate about the first appointments of such bureaucratic officers. Did the king turn to faithful non-royals among the original Lunda group? Did he attempt to use the conquered peoples as a balance to the ambitions of his Lunda 'brothers' and 'sisters'? Our evidence does not answer these questions.

We do know a good deal, however, about recruitment to the Indunaship at the height of the Lozi system. Sometimes appointment to office came as a reward for distinguished service to the state or a reward for bravery in war or for excelling in a national hunt, such hunts, known as *Lisulo*, being held annually and led by the king. The normal and common pattern of appointment to office was carried

⁴⁹ Plant shrubs used in the construction of royal shelters, such as the cover over Nalikwanda, the royal barge.

⁵⁰ Full text cited by Y. W. Mupatu, Mulambwa Santulu manuscript, pp. 2ff. Several other informants recalled the praises of Yeta, including: Liyamine Ndate Sitali: Village: Mulumbo; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

Ndopu Nalumango: Village: Nakonga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

⁵¹ Lifunga survived into the late nineteenth century, during Lewanika's reign. The Lifunga had by then changed in character and become a means of recruiting not only office holders but also labour among the Lozi. The result was that people were terrified and tried to hide their children.

Numba Luhamba, a Luvale slave, gave an account of how her master tried to give her to the king in place of his own daughter. Numba Luhamba: Village: Nakonga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui. Similar reactions of terror to the Lifunga recorded in 1891: Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 424.

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out through the institution of *Lifunga*.⁵¹ At regular intervals the king with an entourage, or his representatives, went through the country choosing bright and promising children. It is not clear whether children of any social group could qualify, as long as they were sufficiently bright. Those who were chosen were taken to the capital and divided among the various royal households and some of the senior Indunas. Through a form of apprenticeship the children were trained and familiarised with the court environment, etiquette and duties. As they grew older they were trusted with different duties, until the most promising grew and rose to the highest positions in government.

At the time of *Lifunga* both boys and girls were chosen. It is said before the Makololo invasion there was a council of women who were known as *Anatambumu* (Mothers of the King). The girls were trained for domestic duties in the royal household and some never rose beyond this - they were known as *basizana ba kwa lapa*, or 'housemaids' - but the bright ones became *Anatambumu* and participated in the running of government affairs. The *Anatambumu* were presided over by *Makoshi* (Mother of the King or Queen Mother), an office supposed to have originated when Mbuyu abdicated the kingship to her son Mboo and became the first *Makoshi*.⁵²

However the first officers of the incipient Lozi bureaucracy were chosen, they were almost certainly very dependent upon the king to whom they owed their positions and to whom they looked for promotion. On the other hand they were very important to the king since he depended upon them to make central authority effective throughout the country. The new bureaucracy or body of Indunas came to replace the regional royals.

The early history of the Lozi bureaucracy can properly be treated as part of the story of how the Lozi kings extended their power. The later history of the bureaucracy, in all its developed complexity, can also be treated as part of the explanation of the strength of the Lozi State. But there is another aspect to the question. Lozi kings drew a great deal of prestige from their supposed relationship to their dead predecessors, but the existence of a priestly class acting as keepers of the royal graves and spokesmen of the dead kings could also act as a

⁵² Barotse Government, K.D.E. 2/44/18 (N.A.Z.), Section 5, p. 3. It is said that the role of women in politics and government was not revived after the restoration following the Makololo interregnum. Women today enter the royal household as 'basizana ba kwa lapa'.

limitation upon any individual monarch. In the same way the bureaucracy might develop vested interests of its own; the Indunas might become less dependent on the king for appointment or promotion and more dependent on hereditary rights, especially since land rights went with office. In surveying the bureaucratic system these questions must arise. How did the elaborate system develop? And how far did the king retain control?

At the height of its operative powers, the Lozi bureaucracy at the capital, which comprised the most senior Indunas in the country, formed the principal consultative, administrative, legislative and judicial bodies of the nation. It was also from these Indunas that leaders of Makolo were chosen.

As a single central body the Indunas formed the National Council known as *Mulongwanji*.⁵³ The Mulongwanji met and operated as a single body on general subjects of national importance such as war; they were also joined by members of the public when new laws were promulgated.

Apart from oral tradition, evidence of the existence of such an institution in pre-colonial Bulozi is provided by the Czech traveller Dr. Emil Holub who visited the Lozi ruler Sipopa at Sesheke in 1875. Holub, when describing the Lozi government structure, referred to a hierarchy of 'officers of state' and 'a general Council' comprising 'state officials', chiefs and subordinate governors. Holub referred also to the judicial functions of the council whose foundation he attributed to 'a constitutional ruler now long deceased'. He went on to add, however, that under Sipopa's 'attempt to suppress the ancient usages' and his 'despotism' the council had lost much of its prestige, and that although the people held the 'large Council' in 'high esteem' Sipopa was in the habit of overruling its decisions.⁵⁴

Apart from, and next to, the king, the bureaucracy was led by the Ngambela, the most senior Induna of them all. His duties were well implied in his title, Ngambela, which in Siluyana means spokesman or intermediary. The Ngambela, apart from being the leader of the National Council, was the spokesman between the king and the people. He interpreted the wishes of one to the other. Above all, however, he was regarded as the representative of the ordinary people against royalty and therefore a Ngambela was always chosen

⁵³ It is possible that the Council was known by other names as well, but in this study it will be referred to as the National Council or Mulongwanji.

⁵⁴ Dr. Emil Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, London 1881, ii, p. 238, 240, 318, 319. On Sipopa, see my Chapter 6, 'The Restored Lozi Kingdom, 1864-1885'.

from the non-royals. After the Ngambela in importance was the *Natamoyo*, 'master or mother of life'. His special status was derived from his special function in the judiciary. He had powers of sanctuary. He could over-rule the judgement of both the Kuta and the king if he thought it too severe or unjust. Also any condemned person enjoyed impunity if he succeeded in fleeing to the *Natamoyo*'s person or house. The ranks of the Ngambela and *Natamoyo* were fixed and permanent in the Mulongwanji while the holders of other titles were raised or demoted depending on their relationship with individual kings. The *Indunas* sat with the holders of the highest ranks nearest to the king. Apart from the Ngambela and the *Natamoyo*, the king had powers to change seating positions and hence the ranks of any *Induna*.

The *Indunas* of the Mulongwanji comprised a number of different groups. The most important of these groups were the *Makwambuyu*, full-blooded Lozi aristocrats. They always sat on the right-hand side of the king in the Kuta. The Ngambela and the *Natamoyo* belonged to the group of *Makwambuyu*. The numbers of *Makwambuyu* varied from reign to reign as each king could create new titles and raise individual *Indunas* to different ranks. It was from the *Makwambuyu* that administrative leadership and leadership of *Makolo* were given.

The next group to *Makwambuyu* and which later developed in opposition to them were the *Likombwa*, who sat on the left side of the king. Their main duties were to attend to the affairs of the king rather than those of the public as was the case with the *Makwambuyu*. *Likombwa* were the king's group and in addition to their duties in the Mulongwanji they had special duties relating to the king's household. In the Mulongwanji *Likombwa* supported the king's policies. The senior member of *Likombwa* was also regarded as the king's personal representative. Since the person of the king could not be criticised directly, any complaints were usually directed to the senior *Likombwa*. He could even be physically punished (choked for instance) if the king had committed an error deserving such punishment. There is no evidence to suggest that any titles among *Likombwa* had fixed ranks. It seems the king had absolute freedom to create ranks among the *Likombwa*, and therefore different titles may be cited as having been the senior rank in different reigns.

The final group of the Mulongwanji, the *Linabi*, comprised the royal family, princes and prince consorts. It is not clear to what extent this group was represented at the stage when the central kingship was fighting against diffusion of power among royals. However, there is evidence to suggest that their numbers were built up to some significant proportion in relation to the other two groups only towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵

In addition to these divisions of the members of Mulongwanji on political and social lines, members from each of these divisions were brought together to form separate inner Councils or *Kutas* within the Mulongwanji. There were at least four different inner councils consisting of the *Sikalo Kuta*, *Saa Kuta*, *Katengo Kuta* and *Situmbu sa Mulonga*.⁵⁶

Sikalo comprised all the most important and senior members of all the groups in the Kuta, from the Makwambuyu, Likombwa and Linabi or royals, and always included the Ngambela and Natamoyo. The Saa membership was of the same composition as the Sikalo except that members of Sikalo were more senior in rank. Due to their seniority the decision of Sikalo carried greater weight than that of Saa. They both discussed legislation and national affairs and reports passed between them in order that general agreement might be reached. The decision was then reported to the king who confirmed or rejected it as the case might be. In reaching the final verdict the king sometimes acted singly but usually he was advised by a private council which he could summon any time in the palace. This council was known as 'Situmbu sa Mulonga'. Membership of Situmbu sa Mulonga was not as set as in Sikalo and Saa. This was a council comprising the most trustworthy and wisest Indunas, who were freely picked by the king from any of the groups in the Kuta although it usually included the Ngambela, Natamoyo and the head of Likombwa. Sometimes recognised experts were called in to advise the king on a particular subject. On the basis of their advice the king could sometimes initiate administrative or legislative action himself. This was particularly so in cases of emergency when there was no time to convene a sitting of the Mulongwanji.

The fourth inner division of the Mulongwanji, the *Katengo Kuta*,

⁵⁵ M. Gluckman, 'Administrative Organisation of the Barotse Authorities with a Plan for reforming them', R.L.I. Communication No.1, Livingstone, N.R. 1943, pp. 56-7.

⁵⁶ In all traditions the Lozi claim these divisions of the Council go back to the pre-Makololo period. See also D. W. Stirke, *Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse*, John Bale, Sons and Danielsson 1922, p. 54.

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has had a complex history which makes it difficult to discover its form during the pre-Kololo period. At the end of the nineteenth century, Lewanika developed the Katengo as a secret council which took decisions on such subjects as witchcraft cases, executions, plots and counter-plots.⁵⁷ In the twentieth century the colonial government introduced an elective Katengo.⁵⁸ Neither Lewanika's Katengo nor the elective Katengo are any guide to the earlier form of the institution.

There is, indeed, a general difficulty in trying to give a neat and comprehensive description of the traditional government of the Lozi: as one administrator wrote, it was like:

... A sum in addition badly done. There is little that is neat or precise about it. The outlines are inclined to blur the closer one regards them and the details to re-arrange themselves and to assume new shapes and significance.⁵⁹

But it is even more difficult to determine how this complex system developed. Some authorities have gone so far as to attribute the whole structure to the influence of the Kololo invaders of the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁰ In fact there is no doubt that some of the bureaucratic offices of the Lozi State existed from the earliest days of the Lozi monarchy, though no doubt their significance changed as the context altered. Thus tradition speaks of Mboo having both an Ngambela⁶¹ and a Natamoyo. And the title histories should reveal to us the gradual creation of the titles of the bureaucracy.⁶²

We need not suppose that Mboo's bureaucracy was either very

⁵⁷ This is how the popular sayings '*ni mwa Katengo*' meaning 'I am in trouble', and '*Mu ni inezi mwa Katengo*' meaning 'you are plotting evil against me', all originated.

⁵⁸ See R. S. Buries, 'The Katengo Council Elections', *Journal of African Administration*, iv, 1952, pp. 14-17.

⁵⁹ A. F. B. Glennie (Provincial Commissioner), 'The Barotse System of Government', *Journal of African Administration*, iv, 1952, p. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ There is a saying in Siluyana about Mboo's Ngambela, Inuwa, who was succeeded by his son Imbala. Among other things the saying warns the Ngambela Inuwa not to eat tigerfish. Translations of the reasons for the prohibition have varied. One explanation states that if he did so his teeth would be like the tigerfish's teeth. (Walubita Mukhele, Sesheke District; Induna Biundwanono, Senanga District.) Another explanation is that the Ngambela's teeth were similar to those of a tigerfish. (Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. II.) If the latter is correct, it is interesting because it suggests that the Ngambela had filed teeth, a non-Lozi custom, but one which is commonly practised among the Luvale, among several other groups.

⁶² This source has not yet been fully tapped and may never be, owing to problems discussed fully in the section on Sources. Each title has a history and traditions of its own which is preserved by individual holders and their families: Office Titles and Kings who created them, Mongu Lealui Tour Report, April 1939, No. 2/1939 (N.A.Z.).

large or that it much strengthened the crown. The number of titles seems to have been very small and it is most improbable that they were organised into any complex conciliar structure. As for the Ngambela and the Natamoyo, their very titles - 'the intermediary', 'the master of life' - indicate that in these early stages they may have been as much a restraint as a support to the king. It was only gradually that the bureaucratic structure within which the Ngambela became Prime Minister developed.

Evidence for this gradual development is hard to interpret. Thus it is said that Mulambwa (K10) introduced the Likombwa division. Yet Mwanambinyi is said to have fled south at the time of Mboo, accompanied by his chief stewards or Likombwa. It seems that what we have in this case is not so much the creation of a totally new office but the use of existing offices for new ends.

In general it seems that we may postulate an increasing number of offices as administration became more complex and the area administered became larger. It seems likely that new categories of officers were also created - like the Likombwa of Mulambwa - as the old categories began to develop a vested interest distinct from the king's will. This seems to have been the motivating factor during Lewanika's reign, when he deliberately built up Likombwa's power and even promoted them to the leadership of subsections of Makolo for the first time.⁶³ It was clearly done to counterbalance the over-powerful Indunas among the Makwambuyu.

In addition to what are admittedly speculations about the growth of Lozi institutions, we may discern some important general patterns. One of these concerns the position of the royals. We have seen that by the time of Yeta I and Ngalama (K5) they had ceased to be regional rulers or to control the Makolo. The dominance of the king supported by his Indunas had one serious negative effect. The ambitious and able royal had no outlet for his ambitions except to succeed the king, either after his death, or through successful conspiracy. In theory all male members of the royal family of direct descent from the ancestress Mbuyu were eligible for the kingship, and every time a new succession took place there was a crisis within the royal family.⁶⁴

⁶³ M. Gluckman, R.L.I. Communication No. 1, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Such crises are recalled at the succession of: Mwananyanda (K9), Mulambwa (K10), Silumelume (K11), Mubukwanu (K12) and Lubosi Lewanika in 1878.

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This leads us naturally to the second general feature of the system that requires comment. When such a succession crisis broke out the senior Indunas were placed in a position of great power. Their support became essential for successful candidature. Thus the balance between the king and his bureaucracy, which an active and able monarch could always maintain to his advantage, was upset at regular intervals. Weak kings, in power because of bureaucratic support, might make concessions both to individual Indunas and to the bureaucratic class as a whole.

There were, then, from quite an early stage of the development of the Lozi State inherent weaknesses within its internal structure which were going to undermine it and facilitate its collapse in the mid-nineteenth century on the arrival of the Makololo invaders.

3 Colonisation of the Flood Plain and beyond

The reconquest of the breakaway Lozi groups of Mwanambinyi and Mange by Ngalama (K4) was of great significance in that it brought the whole of the Bulozhi Plain or Ngulu under Lozi control. The present Mongu-Lealui region, which had been held by Mange, and the present Senanga District, which had been held by Mwanambinyi, were added to the Kalabo region.

The conquest of these areas involved, of course, the extension and, in some cases, the modification of the administrative and judicial institutions already evolved in Kalabo. In many ways it was not difficult to extend these institutions. Mange and Mwanambinyi and their people were of the same stock as the Lozi of Kalabo. The geography of the Mongu-Lealui and the Senanga Districts is very similar to that of the Kalabo District: the same patterns of settlement existed and the same influences towards organisation and centralisation.

It is difficult to show in detail the process through which this extension took place. But there is no doubt that it did. The institution of Makolo, first noted under the control of 'royals' in Kalabo, became the basis for military and labour organisation for the whole of Bulozhi.¹ The type of territorial units which had developed in Kalabo became the basis for the administration of the whole Plain when it came under the control of the central Lozi kingship.²

¹ 'Barotse Form of Government', based on information by Ngambela Mataa and Mubita Induna Kalonga, p. 4, K.D.E. 2/44/18 (N.A.Z.).

² Indunas: Natamoyo Mando; Sunga Wakunuma; Kakwisamungu Mwanangombe: at Nalolo Kuta, Senanga District. Also p. 6, K.D.E. 2/44/18. (N.A.Z.).

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We may suppose that the Makolo institution spread in two ways. Since kingship ties seem to have been the original basis for Makolo membership, it is possible to envisage Makolo or branches of Makolo being extended to regions outside Kalabo as the population spread from there, either for economic or for political reasons. In addition to these natural processes of expansion, however, the king had power to create new Makolo or add new subsections to ones already in existence.³ The king could therefore easily incorporate new groups into the Makolo structure by allotting them as subsections of old Makolo or by creating new Makolo for new groups. It is significant that after the Makolo created by Mboo and the generation of his 'sisters' and 'brothers', which included Inyambo (K2), the next creation of a new Likolo was by Ngalama (K4) who is said not only to have created the Likolo of Kawayo or Yalekelwa but also a number of new office titles, including that of Namunda who became the leader of this new Likolo.⁴ We may reasonably surmise that the creation of a new Likolo and new titles were a result of his military victories over Mange and Mwanambinyi and a response to the need to extend central control over new areas.

The problem of the extension of the territorial system of administration is a more complex one. Traditional sources leave us in no doubt that the Kalabo territorial structure was soon reproduced in what had been Mange's and Mwanambinyi's territory. The basic village unit, the *Silalanda* unit of several villages, the *Silalo* unit which grouped together under an Induna several *Lilalanda* - all these functioned in the conquered territories. There is, for example, an account of Ngombala's daughter, Notulu, going south to Libumbu or Libumbwandinde and being received there by the Indunas of the *Silalo* and their people.⁵

The problem is to determine what function these units played. Professor Max Gluckman has argued that at no point in Lozi history before the colonial period did the territorial units serve any civil,

³ K.D.E. 2/44/18, p. 4 (N.A.Z.). Note: A second kingship was founded in the south during Ngombala's (K6) reign, and the southern ruler had power to create new subsections to the Makolo.

⁴ K.D.E. 2/44/18, p. 4 (N.A.Z.). Barotse Provincial Note Book. K.D.E. 10/2 (N.A.Z.). A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 15. Note: Yeta I, Ngalama's predecessor, is said to have simply taken over the leadership of his 'mother's' (Mbuyu) Likolo of Suyaela. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 12.

⁵ Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende; Village: Nalutunda, Nalilowa; Silalo: Ukola Senanga District.

A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, Lealui 1921, p. 12.

The site of Libumbu still remains identifiable and is always linked with Notulu in Lozi tradition. See, *Senanga District: Villages and Places of Note*; K.D.E. 2/44/4a (N.A.Z.).

judicial or administrative functions. According to Professor Gluckman the Silalo units were exclusively *land* units. 'Generally speaking,' he writes, 'officials placed in charge of a land district had control of the land and particular duties about, and rights over, the king's resources in it.'⁶ Political and juridical control of the people was, in his view, the function of the Makolo, which he translates as 'sectors'. He claims that the people:

...brought their cases to, worked for the king and fought under and gave tribute through, the councillors and stewards of their sector. The chief councillor of the sector... had under him several sub-councillors who controlled sub-sectors of the main sector.⁷

Gluckman argues that when Europeans entered Bulozzi they misunderstood the functions of the Makolo and the Lilalo. 'To whites, a territorial system like that of the Lilalo land units was the obvious convenient one.'⁸ He points out that under the colonial administration, the district divisions of Bulozzi 'were established largely on the basis of the old land districts', first for tax collecting and later for administrative and judicial purposes. According to Gluckman, the Silalo Induna had been important only in land matters but was now given administrative and judicial powers by the colonial administration.⁹

However, Gluckman may well have been mistaken. The extension of the Makolo system was certainly very important, but the territorial units were basic to the administration of Bulozzi. It seems that Gluckman has exaggerated the mobility of the Lozi and greatly underestimated the stability of settlement patterns on the Plain. He argues that the Silalo was a unit relating purely to land and not to the people living at any one time on that land 'for they were constantly changing through the year and over several years'.¹⁰ He concludes that constant population movement made it impossible to build up an administrative system based on territorial units and that only the more flexible and far-flung Makolo would serve. Yet, although people in the valley were forced to move annually from the plain to

⁶ M. Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse Plain', *Rhodes Livingstone Paper*, No. 7, 1941, p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

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the forest margin, the Plain, nevertheless, favoured permanent settlement. This is reflected in uninterrupted histories of family landholdings and the long periods of settlement on one village site by family groups, often over periods of several generations.¹¹

Similarly, Professor Gluckman exaggerates the extent to which members of individual Makolo were dispersed over the country. As stated in the previous chapter, Makolo were kinship, labour and patronage groups; the extent of their dispersal over the Plain is certainly a reflection of the extent to which kinship groups were broken up and dispersed. Yet family and landholding histories show a tendency not only towards permanent settlement but also a tendency for kinship groups to stick together.¹² It is interesting that even membership of the *Mishiku* - the nearest thing to clan divisions among the Lozi, but which today have no direct kinship or political function - keeps to a regional settlement pattern.¹³ Thus, although some members of the Makolo groups were scattered far afield, there was a general tendency for Makolo divisions to correlate with Lilalo territorial units.¹⁴

A territorially based administrative system was possible, then, and one was created by the Lozi kings in the pre-colonial period.¹⁵ Thus Dr. Emil Holub, who visited Sipopa in 1875, when describing the government structure in Bulozhi referred to 'governors' of

¹¹ This was so much a pattern of life that, when the Lozi returned from exile after the Makololo were overthrown, Lewanika introduced the *Muliu*, a law requiring everyone to settle on land held by his ancestors previous to the Makololo invasion and conquest of Bulozhi. The *Muliu* lasted until 1928 when it was repealed by Lewanika's son and successor, Yeta III. See: 'A Draft of the Land Law by Yeta III', *Mongu District Note Book*, ii, 1928, K.D.E. 10/1 (N.A.Z.).

Moreover, the fact that today old and abandoned village sites, or fields (Mazulu) are usually pointed out and linked with their former occupants, reflects a great deal of settlement stability (in the past, if not in the present) which allowed traditions about the places and people linked with them to develop.

¹² My own family, for instance, is quite typical in this respect. The majority of my maternal relations are in Mongu-Lealui District, with a large concentration in Sinumuyambi Silalo. My paternal relations, on the other hand, are concentrated in Senanga District; the majority being in Ukolo Silalo.

¹³ Induna Biundwanono Mainga Wamundila: Village: Silele; Silalo: Ukolo; District: Senanga.

¹⁴ See, for example, a statement made in April 1939: 'Lilalo in other Districts are supposed to belong to one or another regiment (likolo)', Gervas Clay, *Mongu-Lealui Tour Report*, 1939, No.2, p. 2 (N.A.Z.). The Indunas from Kalabo District appeared to give a similar impression to that expressed by Clay.

¹⁵ Professor Gluckman may have been led to make his own conclusions to the contrary by the fact that his research on this particular topic was centred mainly in the Mongu-Lealui District, a fact pointed out by him. Mongu-Lealui District, particularly the eastern side where Mongu, the administrative centre, is located, could not in the 1940s, as now, be taken as typical of Lozi

(Footnote 15 continued on next page)

'provinces', 'invested with both civil and military powers'.¹⁶ He went on to record that 'in some of the more extensive districts, as the Barotse, there are several of these chiefs appointed, but they are all subordinate to the one who is chosen to reside at the principal town, and in all cases they are accountable to the head governor of the Barotse, who is regarded as ranking next to the King'. The head governor is identified by Holub as the Ngambela. Holub goes on, however, to include in his description the 'deputy viceroys' who were in charge of 'separate towns or villages where cattle-breeding, hunting, or fishing, was carried on on behalf of the king'. These 'deputy-viceroy' according to him, were also in charge of the collection of royal tribute which they sent to their 'governor or Koshi' who forwarded it to the 'Sovereign'. Similarly Lionel Declé who visited Bulozi in 1891 recorded that: 'The country is divided into districts with a chief over each; these again into villages ruled each by a subordinate chief. All these chiefs are nominated by the King, and must be of pure Barotse blood.'¹⁷

In the creation of such a system the extension of the Silalo unit to the conquered areas was a key step. In order to understand this we need to examine the operation of the territorial system in more detail. Evidence exists of the working of the system during Lewanika's reign at the end of the nineteenth century, upon which it is possible to base the following description.

The smallest territorial unit was the village which usually consisted of related families. The village headman was normally chosen with the approval of the king from the various family heads in the village. In the case of villages belonging to members of the royal family, the prince or princess was made the head of a number of unrelated families brought together by the orders of the king to serve the prince. It was the duty of the village headman to see to it that life in his village ran smoothly. He presided over and settled minor individual and family disputes; he safeguarded every subject's rights, seeing to it that each individual and each family had enough land to meet their needs. His authority was binding because

settlement patterns. The social and economic impact of the colonial administration: Mongu Boma, Mongu Hospital and Barotse National School, and Sefula, the Paris Evangelical Mission headquarters in Bulozi, are forces which Professor Gluckman appears not to have taken into account.

¹⁶ Dr. Emil Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, London 1881, p. 238.

¹⁷ Lionel Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London 1898, p. 72.

normally he was the most senior member of the community and, even more importantly, because he was appointed headman with the consent of all the villagers as represented by the various family heads.

Above the village unit was the Silalanda. A Silalanda comprised a number of villages under the oldest and most influential village headman, appointed by the people with the approval of the king. Sometimes the king appointed a man to be head of a Silalanda in the absence of an able or acceptable candidate from the local people. The Silalanda head settled minor disputes which arose between neighbouring villages and in this he worked together with and was advised by the village headman who attended his Kuta (council). He saw to the maintenance of communal services such as the clearing of the canals which drained water from gardens belonging to a number of villages.

Above the Silalanda was the Silalo. A Silalo comprised a number of Lilalanda. In charge of the Silalo was a resident Induna directly appointed by the king with the approval of the local people in the Silalo as represented by Silalanda and village heads. But the Induna was very much the king's nominee; he did not necessarily have to come from the area in which he held office. Because of this, a gift of land was always attached to the office of Silalo Induna. The Induna was given an official village to which he transferred his family and close relations. In this way, the status of the newly created bureaucratic aristocracy was raised above that of the ordinary people.

The Induna ran his Silalo with the help of a Kuta whose membership was not full-time like the national council but was composed of village headmen and Silalanda heads who came together whenever a big administrative decision had to be taken. The public were always free to attend these sessions and their attendance was compulsory when new legislation was to be announced or public opinion on a particular issue was needed. It was also to this Kuta that important disputes and appeals against the village headmen and the Silalanda heads were referred. In addition to the full-time resident Silalo Induna, each Silalo had a representative among the Makwambuyu members of the national Kuta.¹⁸ This Induna visited his Silalo now and then, hearing appeals from the Silalo Kuta and seeing that the administration ran smoothly. During his visit, he

¹⁸ Silalo representative Indunas at the capital were included in Holub's description. See Holub, ii, p. 238.

acquainted himself with the affairs of his area and reported these to the king through the Ngambela (prime minister). It was also through this Induna that appeals from the Silalo Kuta to the national council were made. These Indunas at the centre played a vital role by linking the territorial units with the capital. As a result, they were closely watched by the king and if suspected of negligence or attempts to undermine him, they were deprived of their position.¹⁹

The essential importance of the Silalo unit is clear from this account. The village unit and even the Silalanda unit of several villages were natural and obvious groupings and their leadership sprang from within; the Silalo unit was imposed from above and its leadership was chosen by the king. Thus, when Ngalama set up his Silalo units in the south, he was not merely claiming certain rights to the land. He was erecting a new bureaucratic aristocracy over the conquered territories.²⁰

It seems probable that this development was important not only in linking the new areas to the central kingship but also in determining the balance of power within the Lozi administrative system as a whole. In the conquered areas, the pattern of sharing power between the king and his 'brothers' and 'sisters' was not reproduced - from the beginning the Silalo Indunas were commoners nominated by the king.

But it also seems that the new system was not altogether successful in its early days. Difficulties were created not so much by the mobility of the Lozi as by the greatly enlarged size of the area controlled by the Lozi kings after the conquest of Mange and Mwanambinyi. In particular, Mwanambinyi's southern area was a long way from the northern capital. Mwanambinyi himself, as an active local ruler, had effectively subordinated the Ma Subiya and

¹⁹ Lyamba Kalaluka (aged about 60 in 1968): Village: Nawinda, or Nakanjaa; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui: Lyamba's grandfather, Waluka, was a Silalo resident Induna in Sinumuyambi (the valley section).

My own grandfather, Wamundila, became Induna Saywa in Lewanika's reshuffles following the 1885 rebellion. He held a title at Lealui, and in addition he was made the Lealui Silalo Induna for Sinumuyambi (forest section) and was given a village of Mushala in Sefula Musindi.

The problem with these accounts is that none of them explain the internal structure of a Silalo, i.e. boundaries of Lilalanda and even territorial boundaries of Lilalo (which were always a list of names referring to undefined areas) before the Makololo invasion, i.e. in the period up to the end of the eighteenth century.

²⁰ It would appear that it was this significant political function of the Silalo and its link with the central authority which was recognised by the colonial administrators rather than the fact that it was merely a familiar and convenient territorial unit for administrative purposes.

other southern groups. After his defeat, these groups reasserted their autonomy.²¹ It seems that in these early days the effectiveness of a cluster of Silalo Indunas controlled from Kalabo did not equal the effectiveness of a local ruler.

To meet this problem, Ngombala (K6), the successor of the conqueror Ngalama, sanctioned the founding of a second chieftaincy in the south. This has survived to the present day and is now centred at Nalolo.²² Its creation and the development of its relationship to the northern kingdom present a number of problems. Oral traditional accounts of the founding of the southern kingship present the following facts. They tell of how Ngombala's daughter, Notulu, asked her father's permission to go south; how he made her ruler of the southern plain and gave her royal drums and Indunas; how Notulu and her brother, Mbanga, fell out; how Mbanga murdered Notulu's son; how eventually Mbanga succeeded to the southern kingship after Notulu's abdication; and how Mbanga revealed great wisdom, going to Nyambe in heaven to ask for animals and being given the first cattle and thereafter initiating the first sacrifice of cattle to the spirits of the dead kings at the royal graves.

What exactly lies behind this complicated story is far from clear. It may represent a considered decision by the Lozi king that a second centre of authority was essential for his enlarged kingdom; it may conceal a long story of resistance by Mwanambinyi's subjects to northern control, of attempts to refound the independent southern monarchy, and its final absorption into the Lozi State. In its present form, the tradition emphasises the seniority of the northern king, who gives the symbols of authority to the founder of the southern kingdom, and the unity of the state since all those concerned are of the same dynasty. Needless to say, the realities may have been rather different. But some things at least are certain. A southern chieftaincy did emerge; it was from very early days, if not from the beginning, under the control of the same dynasty that ruled the northern kingdom;²³ and its emergence, whether willed or accepted by the Lozi monarchy, is a clear indication of the limitations of the

²¹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 19.

²² For traditions concerning the founding of the Nalolo chieftaincy, accounts were given by: Kumoyo Akende; and Sikota Akufuna typescript, pp. 20-1. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*, p. 12.

²³ See Chapter 6, note 33.

Lozi State system at this date.

It is difficult to trace chronologically the development of the elaborate structure which came to form the basis of the relationship between the northern and the southern kingships. In its final form its main function was to maintain the unity of the Lozi State and to safeguard the supremacy of the central kingship in the north. What the relationship entailed during the earlier period is hard to say. Was there a stage, perhaps, at the height of its power when the southern kingdom, or Lwambi as it came to be known, enjoyed equal status with the northern kingdom, or Namuso? The bulk of the evidence²⁴ suggests that the prestige and power of Namuso was always significantly greater. There are accounts, for example, of rulers at Lwambi being offered the succession to Namuso,²⁵ and of rulers at Lwambi making war in order to establish themselves as kings at Namuso.²⁶ But there are no accounts of a ruler at Namuso being offered the succession at Lwambi or making war to win it for himself.

It would be misleading, clearly, to give the impression that the country was divided into two distinct chieftaincies or kingdoms. The rulers of both Namuso and Lwambi were members of the same dynasty. Moreover, the division between the authority of Namuso and Lwambi did not correspond directly to any territorial division of Bulozi. Certain sub-districts and villages in the south were directly controlled by the Namuso authority, while certain villages and sub-districts in the north were regarded as belonging directly to the Lwambi authority. The northern ruler was represented by Indunas at the southern Kuta and the southern ruler was similarly represented at the northern court.²⁷

The structure of the Makolo system emphasised, perhaps more clearly than anything else, the supremacy of the north. The Lwambi ruler had Makolo with representatives or leaders at the Lwambi

²⁴ This refers to oral tradition, some texts of which are included in material presented with my Ph.D. thesis. See M. Mainga, *Texts of Lozi Oral Tradition*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1969.

²⁵ Mbanga, the second ruler at Nalolo or Lwambi after Notulu was asked to move to the north and take over the central kingship following the death of Yubya (K7) and Mbanga's son. Mbanga is said to have declined the offer on account of old age. He instead gave the people Mwanawina, his other son, who became the eighth king. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 21.

²⁶ It was during such a succession crisis following Mulambwa's (K10) death, while Mubukwanu, ruler of Lwambi, was fighting with his brother Silumelume for the Namuso kingship, that the Lozi were invaded and defeated by the Makololo. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 26. A similar account was given by Kumoyo Akende.

²⁷ Information given by Nalolo Indunas: Natamoyo Mando Sunga Wakunuma, Kakwisanungu Mwanangombe. See also: 'Barotse Form of Government', based on information by Ngambela Mataa and Induna Mubita Kalonga. K.D.E. 2/44/18 (N.A.Z.). Informants could always name the

(Footnote 27 continued on next page)

Colonisation of the Flood Plain and beyond

Kuta, but these Lwambi Makolo were created as subsections of the Makolo at Namuso. The Makolo at Lwambi were, therefore, known by the names of the Namuso Makolo of which they were subsections.²⁸ In case of war involving the whole country, the fighting men in the Lwambi Makolo joined and fought with their parent Makolo from Namuso. The leaders of the sub-sections of Makolo at Lwambi could not go to war independently without notifying their leaders at Namuso.

In this way, an elaborate and formal structure of control and balance between the two chieftaincies was built up. Yet, as with the other institutions of the Lozi State already examined, things did not always work as they were supposed to. There were dangers as well as advantages in the separate existence of Lwambi. The southerners were never completely reconciled to the loss of their independence and to the dominance of the north. Tradition records a number of serious confrontations between southerners and northerners in the plain.²⁹ Moreover, a strong and ambitious ruler at Lwambi might not be content to accept subordinate status. Such a ruler might well hope to build up an autonomous kingship by appealing to the regional sentiments of the southerners, especially since the Lwambi ruler could be succeeded by his own children and might thus hope to

Silalo and Indunas in the south who came under the control of the northern ruler. Strangely, however, no specific Silalo or Induna was named within northern Bulozo as falling under the direct control of the southern ruler. This may be due to the fact that from the second half of the nineteenth century the powers of the Lwambi or Nalolo ruler had been steadily reduced, first by the Lozi rulers in the north because of the rivalry that ultimately developed between the two chieftaincies, and later by the colonial administration.

²⁸ Notulu is said to have created two Makolo sub-sections: Mbanda under Mukwakwa at Lwambi, which came under Muyumbana, the head of the Mbanda at Namuso, and a sub-section of Likolo of Imutakela under Imbowa at Lwambi, and under the general leadership of Mukulwakashiko at Namuso. [Note: Imutakela at Namuso is said to have been created by Mulambwa (Kio) who also created the title of its leader Mukulwakashiko. This was almost four reigns later at Namuso after Ngombala Notulu's 'father' and co-ruler. This suggests that Notulu might have created her Makolo independently which were only absorbed into the Namuso ones later.] Mbanga created a sub-section to Kabeti under Sambi at Lwambi, and under the general leadership of Ngambela (created by Inyambo) at Namuso.

²⁹ Evidence of clashes between Lwambi (south) and Namuso (north) began with Mwananyanda Liwale (Kg) who fought Mwanamatia (the fifth ruler at Lwambi). Mulambwa (Kio) at Namuso was challenged at his succession by Kusio, the sixth ruler at Lwambi. Mubukwanu, seventh ruler at Lwambi, was involved in a succession dispute with Silumelume, his brother, who, according to some variants in tradition, had actually succeeded to the Namuso kingship after the death of Mulambwa (Kio). In all these wars between northern and southern rulers, it can be assumed that each ruler drew his fighting men from his own section of the country. The exception, however, is the case of Mubukwanu and Silumelume, where some leaders in the north (viz: Mukulwakashiko and Katema) sided with Mubukwanu from Lwambi against the northern favourite Silumelume. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 26.

build up a dynasty. Indeed, tradition records instances in which the loyalty of southerners to the Lwambi ruler was so great as to threaten the influence of the Namuso king.

Yet in fact the working out of these tensions between south and north provide us with some of the most impressive testimony to the strength of the idea of the united Lozi state. When crises did occur between Lwambi kings and Namuso kings, the main cause was the desire to gain control of the central kingship rather than to break away from it.³⁰ Southern support for the Lwambi king was often an expression of their desire to have more say in the Lozi State as a whole. The realisation that the valley formed a unit was stronger than any tendencies towards secession.

In the struggle for succession to the Namuso kingship, the Lwambi ruler was only one of many members of the royal family contesting for the same position. The rise of one central king and the creation of a bureaucratic aristocracy had narrowed the channels to power for the royals but they were all still eligible for the highest position in the state, the Namuso kingship. The struggle for kingship went on continuously within the royal family, although it was highlighted on every occasion a new succession became necessary. In this struggle the Lwambi ruler had a great advantage over other royals and also posed the greatest threat to the successful candidate if he himself was by-passed. The Lwambi ruler could mobilise all regional forces at his disposal as southern ruler, drawing on an already large and committed following of clients, on the Makolo sub-sections under his control, and on his economic resources with which he could win over and reward supporters.³¹ In this way, the South regularly intervened in the affairs of the North and of the Lozi State as a whole.

The extension of the institutions of the Lozi State to the conquered areas of the Plain, therefore, was quite a complex process despite the environmental and cultural similarity. Once the whole

³⁰ Mulambwa (K10) was challenged by Kusio of Lwambi whose aim was to succeed to the Namuso kingship. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 23. Kumoyo Akende gave a similar account.

Note: The clash was sometimes initiated by the Namuso ruler because he wanted to establish a Lwambi a candidate of his own choice and whom he could easily control. E.g. Mwananyanda (K9) fought Mwanamatia (S5) in order to replace him with Kusio (S6).

³¹ The fact that the Nalolo or Lwambi ruler was the strongest candidate for the struggle to control Namuso is reflected not only in the several clashes between Namuso and Lwambi, but also in the fact that before the nineteenth century only one succession challenge was made to a Namuso ruler by a royal outside the Lwambi network. And it is also significant that this did not occur until the reign of Mwananyanda (K9), who was later challenged by Mulambwa (K10).

Colonisation of the Flood Plain and beyond

Plain had come under a single administrative system, the way was clear for further expansion outside it, and Ngombala having seen to the administrative control of regions acquired by his predecessor, Ngalama, launched conquest campaigns of his own. He conquered the Masubiya and the Mbukushu, former subjects of Mwanambinyi, and overran the present Sesheke District down to the Victoria Falls. His fighting men went beyond the Falls, foraging into what is now Rhodesia, as far as Wankie and on the northern side of the Zambezi through Batoka to the junction of the Kafue and the Zambezi. Ngombala went up the Chobe River and conquered the Mashi tribes, and then northwards towards Nyengo where he conquered the Makoma.³² There he encountered the Mbunda, some of whom he conquered, while others made alliances with him.³³

What sort of institutions developed in these newly conquered areas, so different in environment from the Plain? In order to answer this, we need to explore the motivation for this second wave of conquests. Ngombala and his successors were prompted by the economic interdependence between the Plain and the surrounding forest areas. As we have seen, people in the Plain had to turn to the forest people for wood and forest materials, such as canoes, bark, beeswax, and numerous other essential products which could not be produced in the special environment of the Flood Plain. A form of barter had been built up between the two groups since the forest dwellers had in their turn to come to the Plain for fish, cattle, milk and various other products. But as the Lozi State grew stronger, it sought to control the sources from which the required goods came. And as the economy of the Plain became more complicated so the Lozi State came to feel the need for additional labour.

The institutions which Ngombala introduced to link the conquered tribes with the Lozi were aimed at securing regular and abundant supplies of produce from their area and of men for labour. The subject peoples were required to pay *Namba* (tribute) to the Lozi king at regular intervals in the year or annually. This tribute would take the form of supplies of the products of their areas. As for the labour problem, large numbers of men and women were

³² 'Ngombala, the Slaver of Nations'. A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends*, Lealui 1921, pp. 10–11. *Sesheke District Note Book*, K.T.O. 3 (N.A.Z.). Also relevant papers in Box 356. 8 February 1903 (N.A.Z.).

³³ An account of Ngombala's victorious campaigns and his alliance with a section of the Mbunda under Yamba Yamba was given by the Mbunda chief, Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi: Village: Lifwekelo; Silalo: Siwito (forest section); District: Mongu-Lealui.

captured during the campaigns and taken back to Bulozi. But to maintain a regular supply of labour, the subject people were also required through the *Maketiso* institution to send at given intervals large numbers of young men and women to Bulozi.

Both Namba (tribute) and Maketiso (the recruiting of labour) needed some form of organisation and administration. Ngombala accomplished this with the minimum political involvement. He planted *Lindumeleti*, Lozi Indunas who resided among the subject people and saw to it that Namba and Maketiso were performed regularly and adequately.³⁴ The job of a Ndumeleti was primarily economic, and he interfered in the politics or administration of the local people only when he felt something contrary to Lozi interests was going on. If the matter was too serious for him to control, or if his intervention was not heeded, he reported the matter to the Lozi king. The king on occasions sent armed parties to punish any group acting or conspiring to act against Lozi interests, and sometimes sent armed parties in the same way to force or hasten payment of tribute.

Namba and groups of subject people who were collected through Maketiso went to the capital. There is no evidence of the existence during the reign of Ngombala and his immediate successor, of an elaborate or institutionalised system through which tribute was redistributed and shared back among the people, as described by either Professor Max Gluckman,³⁵ or by Coillard in 1887.³⁶

The absence of a formal re-distribution of tribute as developed later could have been due to a number of reasons. It might be that the amount of tribute that came to the Lozi capital during Ngombala's reign was still small owing to the limited number of tribute paying groups. Alternatively, tribute may well have been regarded as

³⁴ It appears that Ngombala placed Lindumeleti in the area of the present Sesheke District, but did not pursue his victory into the present Southern Province, nor across the Zambezi. He also placed representative Indunas along the Linyanti River, and all the way to Nyengo. Some of the Lindumeleti appointed by Ngombala are remembered by name, e.g. Mwanangombe, Sekau, Masiala and Mwambwa Seluka. A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends*, p. 11.

³⁵ Gluckman describes a re-distribution of tribute in the *Patelo* (public square) and says the first portion always went to the king, and the second to Ilinangana, the priest-caretaker at Nakaywe, capital of Ngombala. The next in order was Noyoo, who represents Mboo (K1), and then Nyamanalumweya, priest-caretaker of Ngombala himself, followed by the Nameto and Mubitalumbe - caretakers of the royal grave of Ngalama. Gluckman points out that the first to receive, including Ngalama, are the 'owners of the tribute' since it was they who conquered most of the tribute-paying tribes. After the ruling king and the 'owners of the tribute', the next portions were those of the Ngambela, followed by the Indunas, according to rank. M. Gluckman, 'Essays on Lozi Land and Royal Property', *Rhodes Livingstone Paper*, No. 10, 1943, p. 93.

³⁶ Coillard's description of the tribute system was written in January 1887, during Lewanika's

belonging to the king to use or distribute as he wished.

The absence of a formal system of sharing tribute benefited the king at the expense of everybody else in the kingdom. This seems to be borne out in traditions of Ngombala's successor Yubya (K7). It is said that he gave his wife everything she desired. Her name was Namoyowa ta lole, meaning 'she who lacks nothing'. She used to bathe in milk, and is remembered as asking: 'What is it to lack?'³⁷ Increased wealth meant more lavish living for Yubya, and it is reflected not only in this story of his wife, but also in his building of many mounds where several villages were built for him.³⁸

The economic prosperity of Yubya and his monopoly of tribute, it would appear, soon bred resentment which he could not afford to ignore, particularly among the aristocratic Indunas on whom the system of government depended. Yubya introduced a tribute law that any Induna who met people bringing tribute had the right to take some of it for himself.³⁹ This was clearly a measure to appease, but it was also a measure with significant political implications. The Lozi king was beginning to lose control over the bureaucracy he had created for himself.

Mulambwa (K10) introduced the next significant economic legislation after that of Yubya (K7). Mulambwa laid down a law that when the Makolo fighting men left on a war expedition, the king should provide them with provisions and cattle, and similarly give them cattle on their return. He also made arrangements for compensating the dependents of those who died in war. These (the nearest relatives of a man killed in battle) were to be given slaves and

reign. The missionary recorded

Just now, one sees in every direction long strings of people laden with burdens. As in the time of Solomon, it is the king's tribute: honey, pelts, wild fruits, fishing tackle, mats, etc.-the produce of the fields, of the chase, and of industry. The queen (i.e. Nalolo) has her tribute like the king. The whole, brought to the lekhothla (Kuta) with great ceremony, is divided among the chiefs of the nation.

In a footnote Coillard points out that the king's portion is carried at night and is seen only by the 'confidential officer'. Coillard also stated that the dividing of tribute was done by the king.

This gives Lewanika plenty of occupation and pre-occupation, for he has to deal tactfully with jealousies and rivalries, as well as with the rapacity of those persons who make and un-make kings, according to their own caprices.

F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, Hodder and Stoughton 1897, p. 271.

³⁷ A. Jalla, *History, Traditions and Legends*, p. 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Four of Yubya's villages are named in tradition as Nanene, Sola, Namwendwa and Linengelo.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

some of the plunder brought back.⁴⁰

Mulambwa's measures appear humane and reflect great generosity. It is possible, however, to see another side of the story. The Makolo were not prepared to fight the war for the king while at the same time bearing the cost in both lives and provisions. Mulambwa's law was another step towards the Lozi monarchy's surrender of the monopoly both of economic resources and authority in that the king was now compelled to pay compensation to his subjects. Another law of Mulambwa's which appears baffling at first, can be understood fully when seen within the political context described above. Mulambwa made a law that a man caught stealing should be given a village or made a tribute collector, and only be punished if he was again convicted of stealing after he had been economically provided for.⁴¹ This law reflects not only the economic disparity that must have existed among certain groups in the country, but also the delicate situation of the king. Stealing could not be condemned outright without making sure it was not caused by a sense of deprivation. Punishing the deprived and poor could rouse resentment with serious political repercussions.

The tower of authority the Lozi monarchs had so successfully constructed was beginning to slip under their feet, and in order to maintain it, they were now compelled to make concessions to various groups which formerly they had used and held under their control. There is evidence of this not only in the changes contained in the economic laws analysed above, but also in other spheres. In the south, at Lwambi, an incident showing the confrontation between the king there and the Indunas occurred during the reign of Yubya, the successor to Mbanga, and the third ruler at Lwambi. It is said that Yubya was advised by his Indunas to kill his royal relations by poison so as to prevent any possible rebellions or challenges. Yubya agreed to do this, but only if the Indunas killed their own relations first.⁴² The forces at work and friction involved here are evident. In the north at Namuso, the prosperous Yubya (K7) was succeeded by Mwanawina (K8). Mwanawina is said to have been a good ruler, but he does not seem to have made any special impact on the Lozi State. In fact, his reputation for being good might have

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

been due to a preparedness to compromise. His son and successor Mwananyanda (K9) is remembered in tradition as 'the unlamented'.⁴³ It seems that Mwananyanda (K9) was confronted with a dilemma that Yubya (S3) at Lwambi had found himself in, caught in factional struggles between the Indunas and the royal family, as well as the rivalry and challenge to his person and position as king. Mwananyanda's handling of this situation was not as astute as Yubya's. He resorted to executions and other suppressive measures.⁴⁴

Mwananyanda's efforts to retain control by force failed. The result was exactly what he had sought to avoid: it led him into a war with the ruler in the south, Mwanamatia (S5). The results of the war seemed a success for Mwananyanda because Mwanamatia died in the fighting and Mwananyanda appointed in his place his own candidate, Kusio (S6). This happy situation, however, was not to last long. At Namuso, Mwananyanda was successfully challenged by his brother Mulambwa.

Mulambwa (K10), as already seen in the economic measures examined above, was obliged to compromise. He was similarly obliged to compromise when he made punishment for adultery with an Induna's wife the same as that for adultery with one of the king's wives, namely death.⁴⁵

There is evidence, however, to suggest that he made some effort to retain control. This was done by attempting to win support outside both the royal family group and the Indunas. Tradition has it that when anyone was condemned to death, Mulambwa would warn the condemned person without the Induna's knowledge.⁴⁶ It seems that by doing this, Mulambwa was dissociating himself from the unpopular decisions which had to be made in the Kuta, and thus presenting himself in a favourable light to the people. There is also evidence to suggest that Mulambwa tried to form an alliance with the Nkoya, from whom he is reputed to have obtained medicines for powerful kingship. He also brought numbers of Mankoya and

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Mwananyanda is said to have killed, among others, the Ngambela Namunda who had also served under his father Mwanawina. He also killed his elder brother Yutulwakaole, who had conceded the kingship to him.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

settled them in Bulozi.⁴⁷ There are suggestions also in Lozi and Mbunda traditions that Mulambwa sought Mbunda alliance in the same way that he had turned to the Nkoya.⁴⁸

The real break for Mulambwa came with the arrival of Mambunda immigrants in Bulozi under the leadership of Mwene Kandala and Mwene Ciengele.⁴⁹ Mulambwa not only received the Mbunda into the country, but set out deliberately to absorb them as an entity into the Lozi social and governmental structure. The Mbunda leaders, Mwene Kandala and Mwene Ciengele, were granted status equal to that of the Lozi princes and they were given positions in the Kuta.

The Mambunda fought and won several wars for Mulambwa, but this, as will be seen, was not a permanent solution to the problems of the Lozi State.

⁴⁷ Neo Zaza: Village: Mule; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

Walubita Mukele: Village: Liyoo; District: Sesheke. Mulambwa's link with the Nkoya was borne out in Nkoya tradition by several informants in Mankoya, e.g. Shimunika, Muchaila, etc. The Lozi at Naliele Kuta refused to say anything about Mulambwa's supposed links with the Nkoya.

⁴⁸ Mwene Muundu, Luutwi Kuta, Luutwi, Kalabo. He claimed that his great-grandfather, the first Mwene Muundu to settle in Bulozi, came in response to Mulambwa's request for medicines to strengthen his hold on the kingship.

⁴⁹ Mwene Kandala, *Mbunda History*. G. 104 National Museum, Zambia. Kambole Liwena Wellington, *The Coming of the Mambunda to Barotseland and their Native Customs* (manuscript), National Museum, Zambia, 1941. See also account by: Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi: Village: Lifwekelo; Silalo: Siwito (forest area); District: Mongu-Lealui.

4 The Makololo and the fall of the Lozi kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century

In about 1840, the Lozi kingdom was overrun by a group of invaders from the south known as the Makololo, a Sotho people originally of the Fokeng group. As a result of the military and political revolutions which shook South African tribes in the early nineteenth century,¹ the Makololo were compelled to leave their home region in the present Orange Free State in 1823 and trek northwards. The Makololo, under the leadership of Sibitwane, finally came to settle in Buluzi.² They established themselves as overlords of Buluzi until 1864, when the Lozi succeeded in regaining their sovereignty in the valley.

It is clearly necessary to explain how the highly complex Lozi State described in the previous chapters came to succumb to the Makololo. The answer to this problem has to take into consideration certain weaknesses inherent in the structure of the Lozi State, as well as the peculiar characteristics of the Kololo which resulted in their success.

While tracing the evolution of Lozi institutions and of the State as a whole, it was possible to see where tension and friction were likely to arise.

In the first place, there was the division between the Luyana groups in the north, which dominated and controlled central government, and the Tonga groups in the south who, apart from

¹ J. D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: a nineteenth-century revolution in Bantu Africa*, Longman 1966.

² For a detailed and full account of the Makololo's northward march, see: D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, John Murray 1857, pp. 84ff. Edwin W. Smith, *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*, Independent Press 1957, Appendix A, pp. 367–410. 'Sibitwane and the Makololo', *African Studies*, xv, 2, 1956.

having to put up with Luyana domination, had been compelled to fall back southwards into the Mashi or Linyanti swamps and into the present Sesheke and Batoka Districts. These Tonga groups did not hesitate to seize every opportunity which promised to undermine Luyana authority or to reverse the political roles of the two groups. Whenever the central kingship showed signs of weakness a section of the Tonga groups in the south would rebel and seek to establish some sort of autonomy. Similarly, as became clear during the nineteenth century, they did not hesitate to ally themselves with any outside group which offered them a chance to defy Luyana authority. To a great extent this seems to explain why the Makololo, after their successful invasion of Bulozi, concentrated on the south, on Linyanti and Sesheke.

So far, the only explanation given for the Kololo concentration on the south has been their fear of Matebele attacks from the present Rhodesia. The Matebele certainly raided the southern limits of Bulozi and the Batoka country.

Livingstone and other writers concluded that the Makololo were concerned with guarding the fords on the Zambezi, and that the Linyanti and Mashi swamps³ kept them in the south. This explanation, however, does not seem adequate since, later on, the Lozi were to be similarly inflicted with Ndebele raids, and yet they did not move their government headquarters to the border with the Matebele. It is possible that the Makololo concentrated their settlement in the south because there they met with least resistance. As will be seen, the Ma Subiya had solicited Kololo support in a dispute with the Leya, at the time Sibitwane crossed the Zambezi into the present Southern Province and before entering Bulozi. The Makololo then were, in the south, among old allies. It is interesting also that there were some significant contrasts in later Lozi recollections of the Makololo when the pioneer missionary, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, visited Sesheke in 1878 and the valley where he founded a permanent mission after 1885. At Sesheke, Coillard sensed admiration for, and great attachment to, the Makololo, while similar sentiments were hardly noticeable in the valley.⁴

The second weakness in the structure of the Lozi State was the rivalry between Namuso (Lealui) and Lwambi (Nalolo). This went

³ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 91.

⁴ F. Coillard, 'Voyages et travaux de mission', *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, 1899, pp. 58-9.

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back to the time of Mboo (K1). Initially, as already seen, Mwanambinyi, Mboo's 'brother', nearly succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom in the present Senanga area, which although eventually crushed and brought back under central control, developed into a genuine rival centre of Lozi political power. Following the establishment of the Nalolo kingship during the reign of Ngombala (K6) the basis of rivalry changed but was in no way removed. The rivalry for succession to the central kingship at Namuso resulted in a number of civil wars between Namuso and Lwambi. As shall be seen, it was during such a civil war that the Makololo arrived in Bulozhi.

Another weakness in the Lozi system was due to lack of regular succession to the kingship. All male members of the royal family whose paternal ancestry went back to Mbuyu, the Lozi ancestress figure, were eligible for the kingship. The large number of potential candidates to the kingship contributed to and intensified succession crises.

Closely linked with the succession issue was the problem of controlling the new bureaucracy, the Indunas, on whom the king came to rely so much. By the time of Mulambwa's (K10) succession, the king, as has already been seen, was compelled to make a number of significant concessions to the bureaucracy: the Indunas could help themselves to the king's tribute, for instance. In matters of succession to the kingship, the senior Indunas came to assume the role of king-makers. The Indunas, barred from kingship themselves, did not hesitate to nominate a prince who they thought would promote their interests, or who was weak enough to be manipulated by them. The result was that a number of factions were revealed each time the Indunas were faced with the difficult task of selecting one candidate from the large number of potential candidates to the kingship.

These were some of the weaknesses inherent in the Lozi structure, but apart from these, there were also some new factors which contributed towards the undermining of the Lozi State.

First, the absorption of Mbunda immigrants who began to arrive in Bulozhi from Angola in the early nineteenth century was bound to affect Lozi institutions and state structure as a whole. The Mbunda influence in this respect became most noticeable in the period after 1864,⁵ but since they played an important role in the factional

⁵ See my Chapter 6, pp. 99-100, 115-117.

struggle before the Makololo invasion, it seems reasonable to assume that they had already made their influence felt in other aspects of the Lozi State as well. Politically, the Mbunda were highly decentralised and they entered Bulozi in small separate groups, each under a semi-autonomous *Mwene* (chief).⁶

Following their settlement in Bulozi, the majority of the Mbunda immigrants were politically and territorially divided into two main groups under Mwenes Ciengele and Kandala. Mwene Ciengele was recognised as the senior Mbunda Mwene in Bulozi. He was raised to the status of a Lozi prince and was given a seat in the Kuta at Lealui. In addition to this, Mulambwa tried to integrate the Mbunda into the Lozi structure by allotting them into Makolo under Lozi Indunas.

However, the differences between the Mbunda political system and that of the Lozi could not be so easily bridged. In their homeland, the Mbunda were politically organised in semi-autonomous matrilineal clans and in Bulozi efforts to alter this system met with little success. Soon, they earned themselves the nickname *Na yange nji Mwene*: 'I too am a king' or 'I am my own king'.⁷

Differences in religious beliefs added to the problems existing between the Mbunda and the Lozi. These affected the very structure of the Lozi State, for the basis of Lozi kingship rested ultimately on a belief in the continued existence of the ancestor spirits - particularly those of kings - hence the significance of the institution of the royal graves (*litino*). The Mbunda on the other hand, though they believed in ancestor spirits, placed greater emphasis on their belief in divination and witchcraft in which they sought the cause of all disasters and the inexplicable. C. M. N. White, an authority on Luvale and other Luena groups, defines belief in witchcraft as:

A species of logic to explain why certain events have occurred, particularly misfortunes which the believer finds to have their origins in the enmity of people of evil powers.⁸

Thus, where the Lozi turned to the keepers of the royal graves, the Mbunda turned to the diviner. During the second half of the

⁶ Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu*, 1958, p. 16. Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi. Thomas Mwandawande Mwikisa Muwindwa.

⁷ Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu*, 1958, p. 16.

⁸ C. M. N. White, *Witchcraft, Divination and Magic*, Government Printer, Lusaka 1947.

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nineteenth century, so great a change in the religious balance had taken place in Bulozhi that the Lozi type of state structure was threatened with replacement by the Mbunda type.⁹ The Lozi judicial structure was also affected in that instead of the Lozi court procedure, there was greater resort to the diviner. Mulambwa is said to have invited Mwene Muundu Manulumbwe to Bulozhi where he was given a special office and duties as the king's medicine man and diviner.¹⁰

Finally, when considering the fall of the Lozi State, it is important to realise that the Makololo contributed to the mounting tension and conflict in Bulozhi long before the invasion actually took place. The Makololo settled in the Linyanti region south of the Zambezi before crossing into the present Southern Province of Zambia, and then into Bulozhi. Lozi tradition does not say much about the Makololo before their entry into the valley. But it is known through Kololo history that when Sibitwane reached the vicinity of Chobe or of the Linyanti River (also known as the Kwando) he contemplated permanent settlement, and stayed there for some time until the area proved unhealthy. Then the Makololo made their way towards the Batoka highlands.

It is strange that Lozi tradition should have nothing to say about the Makololo settlement in Linyanti since this area was within the southern limits of Bulozhi. One of the early European writers recorded that the first clash between the Lozi and the Makololo occurred when the latter were settled at Linyanti, having crossed the Linyanti River.

An Aalui army was despatched to resist the invaders. Sebitwane's general Bololo attacked it in the open plain a few miles to the north of Linyanti where he had established his headquarters. Success attended the Makololo arms, and the Aalui being signally defeated, broke up and fled.¹¹

The next stage of Makololo settlement after Linyanti was in the present Southern Province of Zambia. After Linyanti, the Makololo crossed the Zambezi at Kazungula heading for the healthy and

⁹ See my Chapter 6, pp. 99-100, 115-117.

¹⁰ Information supplied by Mwene Muundu, Luutwi Kuta, Kalabo. He is a direct descendant of Mwene Muundu Manulumbwe and present holder of the title.

¹¹ A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland*, I, John Lane, the Bodley Head 1904, p. 146.

wealthy highlands of the Batoka plateau. At the Zambezi, Sibitwane intervened in a conflict between the Ma Subiya and the Leya tribes after the Ma Subiya had asked for the Makololo's assistance. In the actual crossing of the Zambezi, Sibitwane and his followers were ferried across by the Toka of Musokotwane who lived on an island on the river. It is said that Musokotwane's people were in the habit of tricking and robbing strangers under the pretence of assisting them across. Sibitwane, however, held Musokotwane in his canoe as hostage for the safe crossing of his people.

Across the river, near the present Victoria Falls, traditionally known as *Musi o Tunya*, Sibitwane was met by large numbers of Batoka who had collected to oppose him. The Batoka were routed and the Makololo passed unchecked until they encountered the Ila near the Kafue. The Ila put up such resistance that Sibitwane was compelled to fall back on Batoka.¹² Thus, the Makololo settled in Batoka for some time until they were driven off by the Matebele of Mzilikazi with whom the Makololo had brushed more than once on their northward march in search of new homelands. The Matebele (who settled in present Rhodesia) raided the cattle-rich Toka and Ila peoples from across the river, and harassed the Makololo who had settled there to such an extent that Sibitwane was forced to begin the next move which ultimately brought him to Bulozhi.¹³

The presence of the Makololo and the Matebele in the south blocked the direction of Lozi territorial and economic expansion which had consistently remained southward from the time of the founding of the Lozi State. By the time of Mulambwa's death, Lozi raiding parties were harassing the Ila and Tonga groups for cattle and slaves.¹⁴ The halting of Lozi raids in the south had significant economic and social repercussions in Bulozhi which were to become more evident during the second half of the nineteenth century. The overall result was that the slave population within Bulozhi and the less privileged groups were forced to bear a greater part of the State burdens in the form of labour and tribute which normally would

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 148. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 33. Gibbons spoke of the defeat of the Makololo by the Ila; Jalla, on the other hand, said that the Ila harassed the Makololo with night raids.

¹³ Edwin W. Smith, 'Sibitwane and the Makololo', *African Studies*, xx, 2, 1956. D. E. Ellenberger, 'History of the Conqueror Sebetoane', *History of the Basuto*, 1912, p. 312.

¹⁴ *Lozi Raids on Balla*: Information by Lewanika, his secretary Ishee Kambai, Namonda Katanekwa and Mukalyana. 7 September 1910. K.D.E. 2/43/1, Lusaka (N.A.Z.). A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 25. Smith and Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, Macmillan 1920, p. 32. Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishii. Kumoyo Akende.

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have been borne by a continuous stream of newly acquired captives. This in turn resulted in heightening tension and conflict within the various social groups in Buluzi.

At the end of Mulambwa's reign, the political situation in Buluzi had deteriorated to the degree that Mulambwa, old and almost blind, is said to have cursed the people and foretold that they would be ruled by people with walking sticks (Makololo?), and again by people with books (Europeans?). Sometimes it is even claimed that Mulambwa was forced to leave the country. He made for the south-east, where he met the Makololo in Batoka and urged them on to invade Buluzi. These traditions may vary in detail, but the message behind them is clearly that of a state undergoing a crisis.

The actual invasion of Buluzi occurred at a very opportune moment for the Makololo. At the time of the invasion, the Lozi kingdom was divided in civil war following a succession crisis. Mulambwa (K10) had just died and two of his sons, Mubukwanu, who had been ruler of the south during his father's reign, and Silumelume, were engaged in a contest for the central kingship.

Mubukwanu drew his support mainly from the south where he had proved himself an able ruler.¹⁵ He also had the following of two important Indunas in the north, Mukulwakashiko and Katema, who were driven by differences with leaders of the northern group to join with the south.¹⁶ Silumelume, on the other hand, was the northern candidate and the leaders of his group were Muswa, his father's old Ngambela, and the Natamoyo.

Muswa declared Silumelume king, but Silumelume feared that his position could never be secure while Mubukwanu was alive. Due to the support which Mubukwanu commanded in both the north and the south, Silumelume could not act openly against his brother. Hence, under the pretext of war against the Ila, Silumelume sent out of the country the Likolo of Mukulwakashiko (Imutakela) and that of Katema (Nulubela) while the regiments of his own supporters—Mbi under Muleta, Nundwe under Noyoo and Kabeti under the Ngambela—remained behind to plan an attack on Mubukwanu. The plan, however, misfired when information leaked through to Mukulwakashiko. In the crisis that followed, we see for the first time the Mbunda playing a crucial role in Lozi politics.

¹⁵ Kumoyo Akende and Nayoya Sianga, Nalolo Kuta. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 26.

¹⁶ Walubita Mukhele; Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 26.

The Mbunda of both Mwene Ciengele and Mwene Kandala had been assigned by Mulambwa to the Likolo of Imutakela under Mukulwakashiko. When Mukulwakashiko and Katema were despatched out of Bulozi, Silumelume gave no direct orders to the Mbunda section of Imutakela. This could have been because Silumelume imagined the Mbunda could remain neutral, or maybe he thought they could even be won over to his side.

Mukulwakashiko left the Plain, but unknown to Silumelume, camped in Kataba in the eastern forest. Then he sent word to Mwene Ciengele and Mwene Kandala informing them about Silumelume's plans.

Mwene Ciengele¹⁷ sent messengers to Mubukwanu in order to ascertain the true situation. Meanwhile, Silumelume, perhaps by then suspecting the Mbunda, sent further orders to Mwene Ciengele directing him to hurry and join Mukulwakashiko. Mwene Ciengele, however, insisted that he could not leave Bulozi without taking leave of the king in the proper manner. The Mbunda then turned out before the Kuta in full war-dress and performed their war dances. Silumelume came out to greet and send out the Mbunda, and while the ceremony and rituals were proceeding, one of the Mbunda struck Silumelume with an arrow and killed him.¹⁸

When news of Silumelume's death was received, Mukulwakashiko decamped from Kataba and hurried back to the valley where he quickly arranged for Mubukwanu to move to Namuso. The succession dispute, however, did not end with Silumelume's death, for the northerners came up with yet another candidate to rival Mubukwanu, Mwananono, a son of Mwananyanda (Kg).

In the struggle that followed, Mubukwanu's group forced Mwananono, Muswa and a number of their faction to flee the country. It is sometimes said that Muswa later changed his mind and returned to Bulozi where he gave himself up to Mubukwanu and was starved to death on Mulambwa's grave.¹⁹ Other variants to this say that while Muswa was in exile, he met up with the Makololo while the latter were still in Batoka, and he told them of the troubles in Bulozi and advised them to go and take over the country. Kololo

¹⁷ Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 18, 19.

¹⁸ It is sacrilege to spill royal blood among the Lozi, therefore a Lozi would have been compelled to use a different method. In circumstances such as this, the king was either drowned or choked to death. Silumelume was buried by Muswa and his supporters at Namaweshi.

¹⁹ See A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 27.

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tradition, on the other hand, has it that in the vicinity of the Kafue the Makololo encountered an old man carrying an enormous ox horn. The man refused to eat and did not tell his name, but spoke of the wealth of his people in cattle and volunteered to guide the Makololo to Buluzi.²⁰

Before Mubukwanu could take up his position at Namuso, the Makololo invaders burst on the scene. The Lozi factions, who were still nursing their grievances against each other, failed to present a united front to the enemy.

In the fighting that followed, the Makololo proved themselves superior in tactics as well as in fighting strength.²¹ The Lozi leader, Mubukwanu, with the groups which had supported him during the civil war, under the two leaders Katema and Mukulwakashiko, had the first encounter with the Makololo at Kataba near Sefula. There the Lozi fell into a Kololo ambush and were defeated. After this, the way into the valley was open to the Makololo. Mubukwanu attempted to make another stand at Nea near Nundu in the valley. He was again defeated, but succeeded in capturing Sibitwane's daughter, Mamochisane, who was later returned to the Makololo.²²

After the defeat at Nea, Mubukwanu again tried to thwart the Kololo advance at Liondo. During this battle, two of his sons, Sibeso and Lutangu (better known later as Sipopa), were captured by the Makololo. There is disagreement about the fate of Mubukwanu. Some say he died while fighting the Makololo, but others say that he was captured and later rescued by his son Imasiku, who had fled to Lukwakwa on the Kabompo, where he later died of poisoning.²³

The Lozi, who still nursed their internal differences after their defeat by the Makololo, divided into three main groups, two of which left the country and went into exile, while the third remained

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Edwin W. Smith, 'Sibitwane and the Makololo. D. E. Ellenberger and J. G. Macgregor, 'History of the Conqueror Sebetsoane', *History of the Basuto*, 1912, p. 313.

²¹ Some of the Kololo war tactics may have been taken over from the Zulus. Livingstone left a brief account of the Makololo tactics, including their use of shields which accorded them great protection when fighting with spears. 'They also trust largely to their agility in springing aside from the on-coming javeline.' D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 1857, p. 193.

²² This is said to be the reason why Sibitwane later gave good treatment to Lozi princes who fell into his hands. This is cited, among others, by D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 314.

²³ Sikota Akufuna recorded that Mubukwanu died in the valley and was buried at Nambi. (Typescript, p. 22.) Nayoya Sianga and Kumoyo Akende claimed that Mubukwanu died in the valley, killed by Makololo. On the other hand, Jalla and Ellenberger (who it seems based his conclusions on Jalla's account) claim that Mubukwanu fled to Lukwakwa where he died of poisoning. See A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 28, 29. D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, pp. 316-17.

in the valley. Of the two groups that went into exile, one fled north to Lukwakwa on the middle of the Kabompo River. This group was later joined by the Mambunda who had supported Mubukwanu. Most of the Mambunda had initially fled to Nakalomo in present Lukulu, but were forced to abandon their stockade there by Makololo attacks.²⁴ The reason traditionally given for the Luyana flight to Lukwakwa is that a detachment of Aluyana had broken away from the main group when they originally entered the valley. Gibbons recorded a similar tradition and wrote that the section of the Aluyana which remained on the Kabompo came to be known as Aalukolui.²⁵

The second group of the Luyana refugees went to Nyengo in the north-west of Bulozi. The majority of the royal family seem to have gone with this group, and they included Mebelo, Mando, Ilukui, Litia and Imbua, sons of Mulambwa. Imbua became the chief in exile.²⁶

Little is known of the leadership of the Luyana group that remained in the valley except that for a time they rallied round Mubukwanu.

Soon after the valley had fallen into the hands of the Makololo, it was overrun again by another group of invaders from the south. This was a group of Matebele under the leadership of Ngabe (Nxaba) sometimes remembered as Sikwanda.²⁷ They crossed the Zambezi near Senanga and went eastwards, seeking a direct confrontation with the Makololo, who were still engaged in a pacification campaign of the valley. Ngabe's followers raided through Bulozi till they reached Kakenge, ruler of the Luvala in the north. It is said that on their way north they came to the Mbunda fortress at Nakalomo, and after failing to break through, they tried to persuade the Mbunda to join them in an alliance against the Makololo.²⁸ The Mambunda, however, remained suspicious and merely supplied the

²⁴ Livingstone made a reference to a Kololo attack on a Mbunda chief in a stockade: see *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 41 (ed. I. Schapera 1960). See also Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi on the Mbunda at Nakalomo. And C. M. N. White, 'Notes on the political organization of the Kabompo Districts and its inhabitants', *African Studies*, ix, 4, 1950, p.183.

²⁵ A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North*, i, 1904, p. 143.

²⁶ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 29, 46. D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 317. Sikota Akufuna typescript, chapter 12, p. 10.

²⁷ Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi remembered the Matebele leader by the name of Sikwanda. Jalla refers to the Matebele leader as Ngabe. See A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 34.

²⁸ Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi.

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Matebele with guides, who took them across the Zambezi westwards in the direction of the Makololo, who at the time were on the Kama River pursuing the Luyana refugees fleeing to Nyengo. But Sibitwane avoided the Matebele by retreating southwards. Ngabe then sent to the Lozi refugees asking for information regarding the whereabouts of the Makololo. Lozi guides took the Matebele to near the Lweti River, where they deserted them.

The Matebele continued southwards where they fell into a Kololo ambush in which so many of them were killed that this place to this day is known as *Libala la Matebele* (the Plain of the Matebele).

Ngabe himself escaped the slaughter only because he had remained behind in Kalamba Forest. On learning that his men had been almost exterminated, he turned back and surrendered to one of the Lozi exiled groups on the island of Naloyela. The Lozi would not receive Ngabe, but drowned him along with his few surviving male followers, while the women and children were captured and retained by the Lozi.²⁹

For the Makololo, the death of Ngabe and his followers meant the end of the first serious threat to the establishment of their authority in Buluzi. They remained overlords of what had been the Lozi kingdom until 1864. At this stage then it is necessary to try to determine what were the main characteristics of Kololo rule.

In attempting a reconstruction of Kololo institutions, one has to resort to some extent to extrapolation backwards from the existing institutions. Accounts written at first-hand consist merely of a few scattered references in the works of Livingstone, who visited the Makololo four times between 1851 and 1860, and in the writings of a few early traders. Similarly, there is a reluctance among the Lozi today to talk of the Makololo and their impact on Lozi society.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Lubosi Lewanika adopted a policy aimed at reviving Lozi or Luyana institutions, including the kingship, to what they were before the Makololo.³⁰ Lewanika could not have succeeded in eliminating Kololo influence completely. The fact that Sikololo, the language of the Makololo, continues as the common language in Buluzi today is indeed significant.

²⁹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, p. 34. W. Smith, *Sibitwane and the Makololo*. Mwene Ciengele, Singumbe Likishi also told of the betrayal and slaughter of the Matebele.

³⁰ See my Chapter 7.

None-the-less, during the 'revival' period, the Lozi came to accept the pre-Kololo Lozi State for their model, and were very reluctant to refer to Kololo influences, especially on their institutions. As a result of these problems regarding source material, little so far has been demonstrated of the former Kololo structure.³¹

When the scattered references to Kololo structure are compiled and contrasted with what is known of southern African state systems, it would appear that Kololo institutions were basically Sotho in character. It seems that the Makololo, like most of the Sotho peoples, maintained the institution of *mophato* or circumcision, which in turn led to the adoption of the 'age set' system as an important element for their military and political structure. Livingstone gave evidence of the practice of *mophato* and the existence of the age set system among the Makololo when he recorded that Sekeletu, Sibitwane's son, 'is always accompanied by his own *mophato*, a number of young men of his own age'.³² Of the significance of *mophato* among Sotho peoples, Ellenberger wrote:

It was thought that circumcision gave extra physical strength to a young man... it, and it alone, made a youth fit for marriage, to sit in the Khotla, to take part in public affairs, and take his place among the warriors.³³

Ellenberger showed also how *mophato* and age sets were a basis both of political organisation and division:

The chief of a tribe may be said to begin his official life at his circumcision.... In the same *mophato* he finds a number of lads of his own age, sons of his father's mates (*lithaka*), and these are henceforth his mates, adopt his *mophato* name, and go through life with him as counsellors, officers, messengers, his eyes and ears among the people.... The second son would be accompanied by the second sons of his father's mates, and so on.

Evidence of this being observed among the Makololo does not only relate to Sekeletu, but also Mamochisane, Sibitwane's daughter and eldest child. Livingstone records that since Mamochisane was a woman and hence could not enter the *mophato* with men, Sibitwane arranged that Mpepe (his nephew) should act on behalf

³¹ G. C. R. Clay, 'Barotseland between 1801 and 1864', *Conference of the History of the Central African Peoples*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka 1963.

³² D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 204.

³³ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 283.

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of Mamochisane and the young men, thus initiated, were later to serve and work with Mamochisane.³⁴

Since each ruler came to power with his own set of advisers from his mophato, it would seem that the usefulness of the king's advisers ceased at his death. Livingstone observed this after Sibitwane's death and recorded:

So long as an old chief lives the companions of his youth retain their influence, but when he is superseded by a younger man, the companions are superseded too.³⁵

The military structure, like the political structure, was based on agesets. Regiments were created out of successive mophato age sets. That this was the basis of Makololo military structure is again supported by one of Livingstone's observations:

The great object of the Boguera (a Tswana word for circumcision ceremonies) is to bind the bands so together that they must fight or be killed by their companions. If anyone fails in his duty, he is insulted by his companions and used despitely.

Livingstone illustrated this point by describing what happened to one of the brothers of Sibitwane.³⁶

The Lozi or Luyana did not practise circumcision, and there is no evidence that they adopted or copied this custom even temporarily.³⁷

In the succession to the kingship, the Sotho practised a limited form of primogeniture, beginning always with the eldest son of the most senior wife. In this way, Sibitwane became leader of the Makololo because his elder brother had been killed by a lion. Similarly, in 1863 following Sekeletu's death, quite a large number of Makololo felt the kingship rightly belonged to Litali, Sekeletu's young son. Succession to the kingship in this instance then was determined according to seniority of birth. This, as already seen, was not the case among the Luyana, where all princes were eligible to the kingship regardless of order of birth.

The king among the Makololo, as among the Lozi, enjoyed very wide powers in administration, and the exercise of jurisdictional

³⁴ It is said that it was from performing these rites that Mpepe developed pretensions to the kingship. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 180.

³⁵ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 158.

³⁶ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 154.

³⁷ Circumcision is, however, a common practice among the Mbunda and Luvala groups in Buluzi.

powers. However, it seems in a way that the Kololo ruler enjoyed greater powers, for there were fewer checks worked into the Kololo government system. Livingstone recorded:

No one refuses to acquiesce in the decision of the chief, as he has the power of life and death in his hands, and can enforce the law to that extent if he chooses.³⁸

Ellenberger also wrote of the powers of the Kololo king that 'all authority was vested in him alone'.³⁹

The exercise of absolute power, however, was somehow checked by the fact that the king was influenced by public opinion at national *pitsos* and in deliberations with his 'ears and eyes', the councillors he had acquired at the mophato.

Another important point is that the Makololo leader was a military and popular figure, accessible to almost all his subjects. This contrasted sharply with the Lozi system where particular stress was laid on royal privilege and etiquette, where the king was not accessible all the time except to the highest in the country. The idea of a king or son of a ruling king eating in public with the people, as Sekeletu was reported to do,⁴⁰ would have been unthinkable to the Lozi. Among the Lozi, the king was surrounded by mystery and ritualism, his public appearances were restricted and he did not communicate with the people except through an official intermediary. In this particular respect Lozi kingship differed from the Kololo kingship.

Among the Makololo, apart from his mophato group, the king was assisted in general administration by another set of officials. These were the officials to whom the king delegated administrative powers in territorial regions and villages.

He [Sibitwane] had his sub-chiefs all over the country, whom he had appointed to rule the provinces and maintain law and order in the villages. He knew them all personally and was in constant communication with them.⁴¹

To some extent, the Kololo administration was similar to that of the Lozi, but there were also fundamental differences. Provincial

³⁸ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 184. Note: The Makololo do not seem to have any equivalent to the Lozi *Natamoyo* or *Makoshi* who could annul the king's decision if they chose.

³⁹ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 265.

⁴⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 204.

⁴¹ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 326.

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governors as well as most of the village heads were closely related to the king, and were appointed to their offices partly as a birth right. Sibatwane had divided the country into four provinces. He himself stayed at Linyanti in the present Caprivi Strip, and Morantsiane, Sibatwane's brother-in-law, was put in charge of Sesheke. In Bulozo proper, the two Lozi administrative capitals in the north and south were maintained. Mamochisane, Sibatwane's daughter, was in charge at Nalolo, while Mpololo, Sibatwane's brother,⁴² was in charge of the north at Naliele. Apart from the royal governors, there were also 'many villages of Makololo in the Valley'.⁴³ Families of the Makololo were spread over the country 'one or two only in each village as the lords of the land'.⁴⁴

Although Sibatwane, in the attempt to win the loyalty of the various groups of his kingdom, gave positions of responsibility to individuals from other tribal groups,⁴⁵ the general pattern seems to have been that of giving offices to the Makololo and particularly to members of the ruling family, relations of the king. Hence Livingstone, among numerous others, mentions the villages of Rapulanyane, a kinsman of Sekeletu, Mothibe father-in-law of Sekeletu,⁴⁶ the town of Libonda which belonged to Seruane and Namahki, wives of Sibatwane, the village opposite the island of Loyela belonging to Sekeletu's mother, and Maunko, Sibatwane's Ndebele wife, had a village twelve miles south-south-east of Linyanti.⁴⁷

The royal family of the Makololo, it appears, were not only rulers but also administrators throughout the land. In this they differed from the Lozi. In Bulozo, only the rulers at Namuso and Lwambi were of royal blood. The territorial administration of both regions was in the hands of the aristocracy, Indunas who had no claim to their positions through birth but only through appointment by the king. The position of these Lozi officials could be regarded in two ways: in

⁴² Sometimes referred to as his nephew and son of his brother, Matsela.

⁴³ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-56*, Ed. I. Schapera, Chatto and Windus 1961, p. 249.

⁴⁴ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 1861.

⁴⁵ E.g. One Mwanangombe mentioned by Livingstone as a Lozi tribesman who had become one of Sibatwane's Indunas, served Sekeletu and died in 1860. D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, note 2, p. 16.

⁴⁶ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, pp. 212, 213.

⁴⁷ D. Livingstone, *African Journal, 1853-1856*, Ed. I. Schapera, Chatto and Windus 1963, i, pp. 1, 9, note 2.

the first place, they were in their Lilalo as representatives of the king, obeying and dispensing orders from the centre; and in a second sense, they were the people's representatives at the centre, not only making their views known at the centre, but also jealously watching the moves of the king so that they did not conflict with the people's interests. It is difficult to envisage such royal bureaucracy as the Makololo had fulfilling this second role, especially since, in Bulozi, it was operating in a conquest situation.

The relationship between the conquerors and the conquered under the Makololo was reflected in the government system. The conquered local people, according to Livingstone, were 'forced to render certain services and to aid in tilling the soil'. He went on to add, however, that they had their own land under cultivation and otherwise lived nearly independently.⁴⁸ He was also aware of the political and social tensions existing in the Makololo State, and noted in June 1853:

All public movements here are made under stern compulsion. Only very few of the principal men would turn out to repel an invasion, the poorer classes would all succumb to the enemy. Even public demonstrations which are made at small trouble are yielded to by the body of the actors with an ill grace. They are forced to it.... How can it be otherwise? All property is vested in the chief.⁴⁹

Sibitwane, in order to win the loyalty and confidence of his newly acquired subjects, appointed some of them to positions of responsibility, but this practice was later discontinued by his son and successor Sekeletu.

Another difference between the Lozi and the Makololo systems, according to Lozi tradition, concerned the position of women. The Lozi claim to have had a council of women known as Anatambumu, participating directly in matters of government. The Makololo on the other hand denied women any form of political participation. Apart from Mamochisane, who was appointed by Sibitwane to the chieftaincy but later abdicated in favour of her younger brother Sekeletu, there is no other incident of a female ruler or adviser. According to Livingstone, the Makololo women so outnumbered

⁴⁸ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 186; also, *Private Journals*, 1851–1853, p. 158.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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the men that their value was lowered.⁵⁰ Ellenberger, however, noted that women among the Sotho 'were not allowed in the lekhotla except as witnesses or parties in a case'.⁵¹

In their economic organisation, the Makololo adopted and continued the tribute and barter system which had assisted the political as well as the economic dominance of the Lozi over the surrounding forest tribes. It seems, however, that the system of reciprocal exchange did not function as it did during the Luyana period. Sibitwane showed willingness to continue it, and gave oxen in return to the tribute-paying people, but was hampered by the hostility of most of the conquered people towards Kololo rule. Sekeletu on the other hand was reluctant even to try it. Livingstone wrote in October 1853:

I attempted again to introduce a system of kindness into the dealings of the Makololo and conquered tribes, by proposing again to Sekeletu to obtain beads and present them to such of them as bring tribute in ivory.... Sekeletu and his counsellors highly approved the suggestion, but the practice is not easily put into operation. They quote attempts of Sibitwane in the same line which were unsuccessful. He gave oxen, but they rewarded his kindness by bringing the Matabele upon him.⁵²

An explanation of the partial collapse of the Lozi economic structure under the Makololo has to take into consideration the fact that the centre of the Makololo state was not in the valley but in the southern limit of Bulozo in the unhealthy swamps of Linyanti. As already seen, the economic predominance of the Lozi depended largely on the unique environment of the valley, with its peculiar products and highly ramified waterways. By concentrating on Linyanti, the Makololo forfeited a great deal of the advantages accorded by the special conditions of the valley. Moreover, later, when political differences began to arise among the Makololo following Sibitwane's death, there was an attempt by the Kololo subsidiary ruler in the valley, Mpepe, to cut off the Kololo central government from economic control of the valley. Mpepe refused even to give to Sekeletu any of the kingship cattle.⁵³

⁵⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 185.

⁵¹ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 266.

⁵² D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 259.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

In contrast to their handling of the internal economic system, the Makololo excelled in external trade. The Lozi had traded with the Mbunda in the west and the Lunda and Luvale in the north. All these people had trade links with the west coast and brought European goods into the interior, some of which the Lozi bought in exchange for cattle.⁵⁴ The Makololo, on the other hand, were not on sufficiently good terms with either the Lunda or the Luvale or the Mbunda to continue the trade links with them. Instead, they traded with the west coast through the Mambari, who travelled into the interior from the coast.⁵⁵

In addition to the west coast trade, the Makololo established contact with traders from the south. Sekeletu sent people south to buy horses from the Griqua traders from Kuruman.⁵⁶ There is little evidence of trade links with the east coast, although some Arabs from there reached the Makololo capital in the early 1850s. An Arab named Ben Habib even sought to marry Sibitwane's daughter.⁵⁷

The desire of the Makololo for external trade was shown in their eagerness to help Livingstone in his efforts to open an easy and cheap trade route to the sea. In November 1853, Livingstone left for the west coast. He returned to the Makololo capital in August 1855 dissatisfied with the possibility of a western route. In November 1855, he set out again, this time for the east coast. In all this, Livingstone was assisted by eager and faithful Makololo. In 1853, the Makololo boasted 'that Nake (Dr. Livingstone) had gone to open trade with the west coast and would trade with them more cheaply'.⁵⁸

After Livingstone had been to the west coast, the Makololo began sending their own trade parties down to the coast. Livingstone reported that 'The Makololo eagerly availed themselves of the opening for commerce made to the West Coast in 1855'.⁵⁹

Apart from sending trading parties to the west coast, the Makololo traded in slaves with the Mambari from the west and Arabs from

⁵⁴ Account by Thomas Mwandawande Mwikisa Muwindwa and Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence*, p. 182; also *Private Journals*, 1851–1853, p. 41.

⁵⁵ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 91, 215, 501. Mulambwa refused to trade with the Mambari because he was against the slave trade in Bulozi. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 91, 218.

⁵⁶ Edwin W. Smith, *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*, 1957, p. 115.

⁵⁷ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 508.

⁵⁸ James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i, London 1868.

⁵⁹ Dr. Livingstone to the Rt. Hon. Lord Malmesbury 6 September 1860. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxi, 1861.

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the east coast. Livingstone recorded in 1853:

I met Arabs from Zanguebar, subjects of the Imaum of Muscat... and Portuguese from the farthest trading station inland on the West.... An intrigue with an underchief who had pretensions to the chieftainship enabled the latter to drive a brisk trade in slaves in the northern half of the Makololo country.⁶⁰

Traders from the south did not take long to follow in Livingstone's steps. On 10 September 1853 Livingstone reported the arrival of traders from the south among the Tawana of Moremi, one of the southern neighbours of the Makololo. By 1860, an elaborate scheme had been worked out by Sekeletu for dealing with European traders from the south.

Sekeletu left some Makololo at the Falls. These can distinguish between Boers and Englishmen. Englishmen are to be received favourably and Boers, to whom for some reason or another they have taken a great dislike, are to be put to death.⁶¹

On the whole, it seems that trade with the south at this stage was not as successful as it was to become towards the end of the nineteenth century. James Chapman, one of the early traders, complained about Sekeletu's treatment of southern traders.

The chief practises the same cunning trickery to entice traders across the river, and when once there, compels them to sell their goods on his own terms, or refuses to put them back on the south side.... Since 1853 trader after trader seems to have come and gone away in the greatest disgust. With the Mambari or Arab traders they get on better, buying a great many cheap American and other muskets....⁶²

It was the desire for firearms which made the Makololo so anxious to establish contact with European and Arab traders. The Makololo were living in constant fear of the Matebele, who continued to harass them even after they left Batoka and settled in Bulozhi. Livingstone wrote of Sibitwane that 'He had long wished to open intercourse with Europeans and obtain the weapons he saw used with such fatal effect at Lattakoo.'⁶³

⁶⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence*, pp. 242, 243. Also, *Missionary Travels*, p. 181.

⁶¹ James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii, 1868, p. 100.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶³ D. Livingstone, letter to Arthur Tidman, 1 September 1851, *Missionary Correspondence*, p. 175.
(footnote 63 continued on next page)

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This point also emerges clearly from the *Private Journals*, where Livingstone wrote of Sibitwane:

He had the idea that our teaching was chiefly the art of shooting, and that by our giving him guns he would thereby procure peace, the peace he so earnestly longed to possess. The people of Mosilikatse who frequently come in order to steal cattle would be deterred from continuing their unwelcome visits...⁶⁴

The desire to acquire guns originally led the Makololo to engage in slave trading with the Portuguese and Mambari from the west coast and also Arabs from the east coast. The first transaction concerning slaves began among the Makololo in 1850 when a party of Mambari turned up at Sibitwane's carrying 'a few very old Portuguese muskets. They declined everything in exchange for these except boys of about fourteen years of age.' Following close on this incident, we also hear that Sibitwane gave thirty captives for three English muskets.⁶⁵ Thus, the slave trade was introduced to Bulozi where the Lozi ruler Mulambwa had previously refused to engage in it.⁶⁶

The Makololo State on the Upper Zambezi reached the height of its power under the leadership of Sibitwane. Its influence spread to all the limits of the former Lozi kingdom and even beyond in certain directions. In the south it was difficult to determine the limits of the Makololo Empire since control of the present Southern Province of Zambia was contested with the Matabele. However, whereas the Lozi had subjugated only the Toka around the present Victoria Falls and a little beyond, the Makololo raided all the Toka groups from the Falls to the confluence of the Kafue and the Zambezi.

It is even said that one of Sibitwane's commanders named Shili was defeated by the Matabele after advancing as far as the Gwai River in the present Rhodesia.

Similarly, whereas the Lozi had penetrated only as far as Kalomo, Sibitwane carried Makololo raids as far as chief Monze's territory, where to this day one of Sibitwane's successful raids, known as the 'Bungwilimba War' (pigeon war) because of the large number of

Lattakoo was where Sibitwane had met up with and subsequently been repulsed by the Griquas in 1824.

⁶⁴ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 17.

⁶⁵ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence*, p. 183.

⁶⁶ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 203.

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small-boned cattle captured from the Tonga, is remembered.⁶⁷

In the south-west, the Makololo extended the empire well beyond the Linyanti River into Tswana and Tawana territory which passed on to the Lozi after the restoration and remained under their control until the late 1890s, when Khama and Moremi renewed their claims to it.⁶⁸

In the north-east, Lozi influence and control had been limited to the western region of Mwito in Mankoya. The Makololo, however, overran the whole of Mankoya and came to include in the empire the eastern Nkoya group of Mwene Kahare as well as those of Mwene Mutondo. Nkoya tradition has it that the Nkoya were defeated by Mpololo, the Kololo governor at Naliele, following the ill-treatment of a Kololo Induna at the hands of the Nkoya.⁶⁹

In the north, the Makololo had overrun Buluzi as far as Lukulu. According to Livingstone, Libonda was the most northerly Makololo village, being just above the junction of the Luanginga and the Zambezi.⁷⁰ Mulambwa had no political control in the north but had established trade with the Luvale and Lunda peoples. The Makololo, on the other hand, had no friendly relationship with either the Lunda or the Luvale. They raided the Lunda of Shinde who as a result were reluctant to help Livingstone on his journey to the West Coast. He recorded:

They seem determined to have nothing to do with us, and it is no wonder, for they are perpetually subjected to being plundered and murdered by the Makololo, and we are identified as yet with that people.⁷¹

It is not clear as to what, if any, was the relationship between the

⁶⁷ Lozi Raids on Ba-Ila. Historical. K.D.E. 2/431x (N.A.Z.). Smith and Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, i, Macmillan 1920, p. 32.

⁶⁸ F. C. Selous to Rhodes, London, December 1894. File A. 3/18/18/5 (N.A.Z.).

⁶⁹ Several Nkoya informants told of the Makololo conquest of Mankoya, including: Washeni Lisita, born 1920. Village: Liobola; Kakumba Kuta: Mankoya.

Mwene Lishenga Katete Liyoka, born during Maate's Mutondoship and Lewanika's reign. Village: Lishenga.

Mwita Muchaila, born 1910. Resides at Lukena, the Mutondo's Kuta. He was Mwene Mutondo from 22 May 1944 until some time in 1947 when he was deported to Kalabo.

Malasa Shimunika Jehosopha, born 1900. Village: Lishenga Mankoya; Teacher, 1933-50; Pastor at Lwampa Mission, 1950-64, of the Evangelical Fellowship Church, originally known as the South Africa General Mission.

⁷⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 250, 685.

⁷¹ D. Livingstone, *African Journal*, 1853-1856, i, p. 34.

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Makololo and the Luvale, the neighbours of the Lunda on the western side of the Zambezi. According to Livingstone's reports, however, and considering the panic which seized his Makololo carriers at the prospect of passing through Luvale country, it seems that the Luvale were the terror of the Upper Zambezi to the north of the Makololo.

5 The decline of the Makololo and the Lozi restoration

Sibitwane, the original leader of the Makololo, died on 7 July 1851. After his death, the Makololo State began to decline rapidly, until in August 1864 the Makololo were completely overthrown by the Lozi seeking to re-establish their former sovereignty in the valley and surrounding areas. The decline of the Makololo State was due to a number of factors, some of which were already in existence even before Sibitwane's death.

The earliest threat to the Makololo came from the Matebele. They, operating from across the River Zambezi from the present day Zimbabwe, continuously harassed the Makololo whose main body had settled in the Linyanti area and southern limits of the former Lozi kingdom. It is said that on his northward march Sibitwane had on two separate occasions lost all his cattle to the Matebele and only succeeded in recapturing them later. It is also said that Sibitwane had considered permanent settlement in the Tswana territory of Marico District but was prevented from doing so by Matebele hostilities.¹ After crossing the Zambezi River at Victoria Falls (Musi o Tunya) into the present-day Zambia, Sibitwane found himself on a healthy, fertile and cattle-rich plateau. He subjugated the Toka and Tonga tribes and went as far as the Kafue River in Ila country. After a brief settlement, however, Sibitwane was compelled to move once again by clashes with the Matebele raiding parties.² The Makololo finally settled in Bulozhi, mainly in the southern regions around Sesheke and Chobe. The threat of the Matebele, however, materialised even there. Livingstone was told of a clash with the Matebele in 1850 during which Sibitwane narrowly escaped

¹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, John Murray 1857, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

drowning.³ In March 1852 Livingstone in a letter to Tidman referred to the 'annual forays of the Matebele'.⁴ Ellenberger, on the other hand, tells of at least two occasions when the Matebele attempted to invade Bulozi. On one occasion it is said the Matebele advanced as far as Ibolokwa, at the confluence of the Zambezi and Malile Rivers (at present the boundary of the Senanga and Mongu-Lealui Districts).⁵ On yet another occasion the Matebele are said to have gone as far as the Luyi River in Senanga District.⁶ Fear of the Matebele was frequently given as the reason for the settlement of the Makololo in the unhealthy swamps of the Chobe River. Chapman, who visited the Makololo in 1853, recorded that: 'The Makololo were living at present time in terror of Moselihatze in the most unhealthy swamps in Africa, and dare not move eastward for fear of their lives.'⁷ Livingstone, intent on establishing a mission among the Makololo, tried to persuade them to move to the much more healthy Batoka highlands. But the Makololo would not move for 'the deep rivers among which they now live are a defence to them against the Matebele'.⁸ It seems Sibitwane could not at times rely on the local people, the Ma Subiya and the Ma Toka who allied themselves with the Matebele and ferried them across the river and joined them in their campaigns against the Makololo.⁹

The Makololo were evidently not equal to the Matebele military power but the clever tactics of Sibitwane foiled a number of Matebele campaigns.¹⁰ Moreover, Sibitwane chose the Zambezi as his line of defence and posted villages at strategic points along the bank.¹¹ After the fall of the Makololo in 1864, the Matebele continued to threaten the southern limits of Bulozi and the Lozi lived in dread of

³ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, ed. I. Schapera, Chatto & Windus 1961, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193. Dr. A. Tidman was the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

⁵ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, Caxton Publishing Co., Ltd, 1912, p. 318. Ellenberger does not give a date for this invasion, but he refers to Sibitwane's narrow escape from drowning. Livingstone quotes a similar incident in 1850. It is likely that they were both writing about the same event.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii, 1868, p. 148.

⁸ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, p. 175.

⁹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 88. D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 318.

¹⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 87-8. D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 318.

¹¹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 88.

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the Matebele until the latter's final overthrow by European settlers in 1896.

It is estimated that two-thirds of the Makololo 'nation' was in the south in Linyanti or Chobe areas, while only a third lived in the valley (Bulozi proper).¹² The political effects of this, though unstated, are quite clear. It meant that the political hold of the Makololo on the valley was not as great as it otherwise might have been had Sibitwane established his central seat of government in the heart of the land. The second effect of this, however, was serious as it concerned the general health of the Makololo.

The Makololo, confined mainly to the malaria-ridden area of the Chobe, were slowly being decimated by fever. Malaria had not been endemic amongst the Sotho in South Africa and they had not built up a resistance to it. In 1851 Livingstone observed that: 'The fever prevails in a very virulent form among the Makololo. Indeed the majority of the people whom Sibitwane brought into these parts have been cut off by it.'¹³

In June 1853 Livingstone gave the number of able-bodied Makololo men as five hundred. 'The whole available force has been collected.'¹⁴ The situation seems to have worsened for in 1855 Livingstone again observed,

[The Makololo] have not been 20 years in this quarter but, so great has been the mortality among the men, the tribe presents all the appearance of being destined at no distant day to extinction.¹⁵

In this way then the Makololo as a group were becoming fewer and weaker. There is no doubt that in 1864 this factor facilitated their defeat and massacre by the Lozi.

In addition to the decreasing physical strength of the Makololo, their political and governmental machinery became increasingly ineffective. This was particularly so after Sibitwane's death in 1851.

The Makololo structure to a great extent depended on the person of the king, to whom the various groups of the Makololo and conquered people were linked by direct ties of personal loyalty. It was therefore essential for them to have a clever and strong ruler who could hold his people together, win the loyalty of the conquered

¹² D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 181.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 47. Also *Missionary Travels*, p. 85.

¹⁴ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, p. 153.

¹⁵ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, p. 290.

peoples and protect the nation against external foes. Sibitwane had most of these qualities. In battle he had led the Makololo from victory to victory, and Livingstone wrote of him:

A good deal of the Makololo bravery was owing to Sibitwane's decision of character. When about to engage in a fight he sharpened his battle axe and touching its edge told his people that it was in order for any coward who should dare to show his back to the enemy.¹⁶

And again Livingstone recorded:

He [Sibitwane] several times lost all his cattle, but being a man of great ability managed to keep his people together and ended his days richer in cattle and with many more people under his sway than any other chief we know in Africa.¹⁷

Sibitwane tried to win and hold the loyalty of his heterogeneous following by giving cattle to subject peoples who brought tribute to Linyanti, by taking wives from the various tribal groups and giving positions of responsibility to leading men of conquered peoples. He was particularly kind and generous to members of the Lozi royal family who put themselves under his care. Lutangu (Sipopa) the son of Mulambwa lived with Sibitwane and 'he gave him a gun before he had given any to the Basuto'.¹⁸ In administration Sibitwane maintained close contact with his assistants and representatives in the provinces and villages. He knew them all personally and was in constant communication with them. Whether they were of his own people or of those who had come under his rule by conquest or other means, he treated them all with the same generous consideration.¹⁹ To Livingstone, Sibitwane was the greatest and best of all tribal rulers. This praise is of course due partly to the warm welcome and friendliness that Sibitwane showed Livingstone and his family, but there was also some truth in it as could be seen by the power, fame and success of the Makololo throughout his reign.

Sibitwane died on 7 July 1851. His successors were not of the same calibre. To begin with, Sibitwane's daughter and chosen successor,

¹⁶ D. Livingstone, *African Journal*, i, p. 12. Also *Missionary Travels*, p. 84.

¹⁷ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, p. 175.

¹⁸ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 26.

¹⁹ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 326.

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Mamochisane, found that she could not live fully as a family woman and at the same time carry the onerous duties of ruling the kingdom. She therefore abdicated in favour of her young half-brother Sekeletu. This gave rise to a number of problems. To begin with, Sekeletu is said to have been a youth of only about 18 years; secondly, his mother was not Sotho but a captive; and thirdly, there were doubts whether Sekeletu was Sibitwane's child.²⁰ Even when all these problems were overcome and Sekeletu was confirmed as ruler of the Makololo, it soon became clear that he was no equal to his father Sibitwane. 'Sekeletu had inherited the calm and simple manners of his father, but he had neither his wisdom nor capability as a leader of men.'²¹ Sekeletu alienated the different groups his father had tried to bring together by choosing his counsellors and wives from his own tribe only; he became cut off from his people and the affairs of the nation when he contracted leprosy and was forced to retreat into seclusion; he was obsessed by fear of witchcraft to which he attributed his ailment and of which he suspected many people. It was clear that the Makololo kingdom would not outlive Sibitwane for very long. In August 1860 when Livingstone was at Sesheke he recorded that the country 'was suffering grievously and Sibitwane's grand empire was crumbling to pieces'.²²

During Sekeletu's reign, a number of Lozi or Aluyana fled from the valley to join the groups in exile. In August 1853 Livingstone reported seeing a bundle of spears which had 'belonged to a party of Barotse' who had fled to Imasiku at Lukwakwa.²³ In 1859 Sekeletu ordered the execution of the Lozi princes Mebelo and Mando, who had fled back to the valley from Nyengo. As a result of this Lutangu (Sipopa), who had been more or less 'adopted' by Sibitwane, fled with Sibeso from the valley and made for Lukwakwa.

Sekeletu's position was soon challenged by Mpepe, Sibitwane's nephew, who set himself up as a semi-independent ruler in Bulozhi

²⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 179; also *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 29, note 2. Sekeletu's mother, Setloutlou, was a widow captured in war, who had become the wife of Letshai, a Kololo nobleman, but was subsequently taken from him by Sibitwane. In Sotho law, the original husband was the legal father of all the woman's children no matter by whom begotten.

²¹ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 326. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 179.

²² D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries*, John Murray 1865, p. 283.

²³ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 209; also *Missionary Travels*, p. 247. In *Missionary Travels*, p. 248, Livingstone added that the Lozi who fled to Imasiku returned to the valley a few weeks later.

proper and swung almost all the Makololo in the valley against Sekeletu. Mpepe is said to have had two alternative aims: to overthrow and kill Sekeletu, or, failing this, to set himself up as ruler of Bulozi valley, independently of the Makololo.

Mpepe's ambitions and pretensions to the chieftaincy had become clear even before Sibitwane's death. Mpepe had a mophato following obtained when he was chosen by Sibitwane to go through the mophato ceremonial for his daughter Mamochisane. Moreover, he had been employed by Sibitwane as commander in several expeditions during the minority of Sekeletu and had also been put in charge of Sibitwane's cattle. All this responsibility given him by Sibitwane roused Mpepe's ambitions for the kingship.²⁴ He began to hold back Sibitwane's cattle for his own use and built himself a big house to suit what he considered was his standing among the Makololo. Sibitwane, however, rebuked him saying, 'I did not give you the chieftainship when I gave you charge of cattle.' And pointing at Mpepe's big house Sibitwane said to Sekeletu: 'If that house does not eat me, it will eat you.'²⁵

On Sibitwane's death Mpepe approved of Mamochisane's appointment to succeed her father. When Mamochisane abdicated in favour of her brother Sekeletu, Mpepe put up a strong opposition. Mpepe's apparent preference for Mamochisane could perhaps be explained through the fact that her group of advisers were tied to Mpepe through the mophato. This gave Mpepe the opportunity to manipulate and control Mamochisane, and was one of the reasons given for her desire to abdicate - she was 'tired of the responsibility and the intrigues of her relative Mpepe'.²⁶

Disappointed that Sekeletu had succeeded to the chieftaincy, Mpepe went to the valley where he put his schemes into operation. Sekeletu was very frightened of Mpepe and knew that he could not rival his influence in the valley. In 1853 Livingstone observed that: 'He [Sekeletu] is afraid of the portion of the tribe at Barotse, they are unwilling to obey him and refuse to give him the cattle which he had when there.'²⁷

²⁴ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, pp. 183 and 233; also *Family Letters, 1849-1856*, ii, p. 219.

²⁵ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, pp. 183 and 233; also *Missionary Travels*, p. 180.

²⁶ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 322. There were also attempts to make Mamochisane marry Mpepe so that they could share the chieftaincy: D. Livingstone: *Family Letters, 1849-1856*, ii, p. 219.

²⁷ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 161.

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In June 1853 Livingstone asked Sekeletu to accompany him to the valley. While there Sekeletu insisted on sleeping in the same hut as Livingstone for fear of Mpepe. Sekeletu's fears were not altogether unfounded, for a plot to kill him was discovered during the same visit.²⁸ Mpepe built up his position by forming an alliance with the Portuguese and the Mambari from the west coast. Livingstone suspected that Mpepe had given the Portuguese land in Katongo, on the southern side of the present Mongu Boma, where they established a stockade and put up a Portuguese flag.²⁹ Mpepe allowed them to buy slaves freely in Batoka and Ila country. In return for all these favours Mpepe hoped for military assistance from his Portuguese and Mambari allies,³⁰ and it is reported that 'they furnished Mpepe with a small cannon'.³¹ Following the discovery of the plot against him in 1853, Sekeletu had Mpepe executed at the end of June of that year. This, however, did not give him immediate control of the valley where some commotion followed Mpepe's death.³²

Mistrust among the Makololo leadership was rife. Mpololo, the governor of the north, told Livingstone that there was a strong party against Sekeletu, which was also supported by Sekeletu's sister Mamochisane. Sekeletu on the other hand told Livingstone that Mamochisane hated Mpololo and would not listen to him.³³ Meanwhile Sekeletu carried out numerous executions of those whom he disliked, or suspected of political plots or practising witchcraft against him. In this way, in 1860 Morantsiane, governor of Sesheke, was executed, suspected of having bewitched Sibitwane.³⁴ Mamili, Sekeletu's uncle,³⁵ was suspected of having infected Sekeletu with leprosy. There was also general bitterness between

²⁸ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 182; also *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, pp. 181-4; also *Family Letters*, 1849-1856, pp. 219-20.

²⁹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 181; also *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, p. 232.

³⁰ Silva Porto, one of the Portuguese who came to the Makololo and allied himself with Mpepe, related that Mpepe sought his aid in a scheme to secede from Sekeletu and establish an independent kingdom in the country of the Ba Ila. D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, p. 232, note I.

³¹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 216; also *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, p. 232.

³² D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 183.

³³ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, p. 143.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39, note 3.

³⁵ D. Livingstone in *Missionary Travels*, p. 513, says that Mamili married Sekeletu's mother. In *Narrative*, p. 272, Livingstone refers to the same man as Sekeletu's uncle. Jalla in *Litaba*, 1959, p. 63,

Sekeletu's young 'companions' and the old advisers of his father Sibitwane. There was 'a manifestation of sour feeling. The old rally the young on having done no exploits in the battle field.' The young too were accused of eating oxen 'for which they never fought'.³⁶

In 1860 Livingstone, accompanied by Dr. Kirk, visited Linyanti and 'found that the country was in dire straits' and the grand empire built by Sibitwane 'was crumbling to pieces'.³⁷ The subject peoples were defying the Makololo and group by group were claiming their independence. A group of Malozi killed a Mukololo and then fled to Lukwakwa where they tried to incite Imasiku to attack Sekeletu; sections of the Ba Toka were also in revolt.³⁸

In August 1863 Sekeletu died at Linyanti and this was the signal for a series of succession disputes, civil war and the final collapse of the Makololo State. First Mamili seized power and attempted to establish his son Liswaniso as successor. But Mamili, suspected of having bewitched Sekeletu, was challenged by Mpololo with the support of sections of Lozi, Toka and some Makololo. Most of those who fought with Mpololo, however, did so not because they wanted him as king but rather to act as regent during the minority of Litali, Sekeletu's son. By October 1863, Mamili was driven out of Linyanti and he fled to Letsholathebe, ruler of the Tawana of Lake Ngami, where he was finally treacherously killed.³⁹ Mpololo seized power and attempted to silence opposition by execution.⁴⁰ Discontent and fear were so rife in the country that groups of Makololo fled from Linyanti to seek refuge with their southern neighbours the Tawana.⁴¹

In January 1864 Mpololo travelled from Sesheke to Naliele, silencing his outspoken opponents as he went. Opposition to Mpololo grew with the numerous atrocities he committed, but the groups which opposed him failed to agree on a successor. Most of the Makololo felt quite naturally that it should be one of Sekeletu's sons, either Litali or his younger brother Sesane. The Lozi on the other hand saw in this an opportunity to rid themselves of the Makololo

refers to Mamili as Sekeletu's maternal uncle

³⁶ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 158.

³⁷ D. Livingstone, *Narrative*, 1865, p. 283.

³⁸ Ellenberger mentions the Ba Toka of Sinamane, Monemba and Musokatwane: *History of the Basuto*, p. 326.

³⁹ Edwin W. Smith, *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*, p. 134. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 44.

⁴⁰ D. E. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p. 327.

⁴¹ Ellenberger, p. 328.

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yoke. Mpololo was aware of this, and on his arrival at Naliele in June 1864 ordered that all sons of Lozi chiefs be killed. However, he had already lost his hold over the people and was contemplating fleeing to the west coast to seek refuge with the Mambari, when there was a general Lozi uprising.⁴²

In August 1864 the Lozi under the leadership of Njekwa carried out a general massacre of the Makololo. Mpololo, wounded and in despair, drowned himself. Many Makololo men were killed, and the women and children distributed among the Lozi.⁴³

The Makololo defeat was so absolute that in December 1864, Price (one of the members of the London Missionary Society who had attempted to establish a mission among the Makololo in 1860 following Livingstone's appeals) wrote:

Now there is not a vestige left of the tribe as such. The people who when I was at Linyanti were treated as dogs have as it were in one day changed positions with their tyrannical and cruel masters and the wives and children of their former oppressors have in turn become their slaves.⁴⁴

This account of the Makololo perhaps raises more questions than it answers. The most interesting question, however, appears to be: Why were the Makololo unable to increase their numbers in Bulozhi, as they did on the march, or as the Matebele and Ngoni did, by acculturating captives and subjects? One of the most interesting phenomena of Lozi history was the adoption of Sikololo language by formerly Luyana-speaking people in Bulozhi, so that to this day, Sikololo is the *lingua franca* of Bulozhi. The spread of a language ordinarily suggests a high degree of acculturation, but this was clearly limited in every other aspect as an analysis of Kololo political,

⁴² A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 45.

⁴³ The Lozi usually claim that all Makololo men were exterminated in 1864. However, a few Makololo men appear in Lozi history after the Lozi restoration. It is said for instance that when Sipopa was invited to come to the valley to take over the kingship of the restored kingdom, the Lozi sent a Makololo messenger so there could be no doubt in Sipopa's mind about the position of the Makololo. There is also evidence that some Makololo men managed to escape from Bulozhi during the massacre. One Siroque (Siluka) is said to have fled to Cubango and then Bihe where he stayed for a long time conducting occasional caravans to Benguella. Then he came to settle on Kwandu where he started having ideas of a Makololo restoration. This was during Mwanawina II's reign (1876-8). However, Mwanawina learned of Siroque's presence and intentions. Siroque was killed on Mwanawina's instructions near Mutambanja village.

See Serpa Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, ii, Sampson Low, p. 18.

⁴⁴ Price to Dr. Arthur Tidman, 2 December 1864, in E. W. Smith, *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*, Independent Press 1957, p. 134.

social and economic structures shows. These remained different and sometimes in contrast to the structures of the subject groups.

The question of the adoption of Sikololo language by the Luyana or Lozi deserves a more detailed study than can be given in this chapter. But one of the factors involved seems to be implied in the traditions and accounts of the Makololo overthrow. It would appear that the largest section of the Makololo community to survive both the scourge of malaria fever and the slaughter of 1864 was made up of women. Probably these women were a major factor in the transfer and survival of Sikololo language. It is very difficult to estimate the extent to which Sikololo was the language of Bulozi by 1864. But it was sufficiently widespread for the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society to open mission stations throughout the valley between 1884 and 1900 in which instructions were given in Sesotho, the language from which Sikololo was derived. On the other hand, although the missionary factor can be used as proof of the widespread use of Sikololo, the introduction of Sesotho and later Sikololo in mission schools was itself a major factor in the transfer from Siluyana to Sikololo in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bulozi. The missionaries, in this case the Primitive Methodists, even tried to introduce Sikololo in schools among the Ila on the Kafue in the early 1890s. Clearly, then, the language transference in Bulozi was a result of more than the original Kololo impact.

It seems in the final analysis that the collapse of the Makololo State can be explained in terms of the special environment of Bulozi. Bulozi was very different from the areas of Ndebele settlement, for example, where the Matebele could easily impose their system. In Bulozi the centre of the economy and of the political system was the Plain, which presented an environment of much greater complexity than the Kololo were used to or could cope with. Secondly although the plain was very much under Lozi 'direct rule' and it would therefore have been feasible to have this substituted by Kololo 'direct rule', the complexity of the Plain had given rise to a network of interests and institutions which had no parallel in the Kololo structure.

At this stage it is necessary to turn to the victors of 1864. What were the actual mechanics of the Lozi uprising? How did they manage to overcome the weaknesses that had so greatly under-

mined their position at the time of the Makololo invasion? Here too it is doubtful whether one can find all the necessary answers.

The Lozi factional struggle continued even during the years of exile. The exiled groups at Lukwakwa and Nyengo looked upon each other with suspicion and sometimes open hostility. Early in 1855 while Livingstone was at Shinde's among the Lunda, on his way from Luanda, he heard that Imbua, the leader of the Nyengo Lozi exile group, was planning to come and attack Imasiku at Lukwakwa. Later Livingstone recorded that Imbua seized Imasiku's people while they were out working in their gardens. This led to fighting between the two groups. Imbua was defeated and had to pay a fine of three slaves to Imasiku.⁴⁵ The Lozi group that stayed in the valley on the other hand would not associate closely with the groups in exile. Livingstone's carriers on his journey to the west coast refused to go to Lukwakwa and he recorded that: 'The Barotse objected to go on account of owing him [i.e. Imasiku] allegiance and being looked upon as rebels.'⁴⁶

Equally, differences arose among the groups in exile. In 1855 at Nyengo there was a plot to overthrow Imbua while he was out on an expedition against Imasiku at Lukwakwa, and have him replaced by Mebelo.⁴⁷ When Imbua discovered the plot, Mebelo, Mando and Litia with his young son Lubosi, later to be known as Lewanika, were forced to flee from Nyengo to Bulozhi where they gave themselves up to Sekeletu. In 1859, however, Mebelo and Mando fell out of favour with Sekeletu and were executed, while the Lozi princes, Sipopa Lutangu and Sibeso, who had been captured by the Makololo on their settlement in the valley, escaped and fled to Lukwakwa. Later Sibeso was forced by further differences at Lukwakwa to return to Bulozhi where in 1863 he and Litia were executed by Mpololo at the instigation of certain Lozi chiefs.⁴⁸

Meanwhile at Lukwakwa Imasiku fell out of favour with his Mbunda followers whom he was in the habit of selling off to the Mambari slave traders. On 25 December 1853 Livingstone, who was

⁴⁵ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 485 and 489; A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 46.

⁴⁶ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 263; also *African Journal*, 1853-1856, p. 27.

⁴⁷ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 489; A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 46.

⁴⁸ Sibeso and Litia were survived by a son each. Sibeso's son Mwanawina became king of Bulozhi, 1876-8. Litia was father to Lubosi, later better known as Lewanika, king of Bulozhi, 1878-84, and 1885-1916. One of the Lozi Indunas involved in the plot to kill Sibeso and Litia was Mwala, father of Mataa, the leader of the 1884-5 rebellion against Lubosi Lewanika.

trying to return some women who had been captured from Lukwakwa by the Makololo, recorded:

We are informed by our captives that Masiko... is guilty of seizing all the orphans, or those who have no powerful friend to look after them, and selling them to the Mambari for clothing. The women object on that account to go to his town.⁴⁹

In 1860 Lutangu and Sipopa, supported by the Mbunda and Nkoya factions at Lukwakwa, overthrew and killed Imasiku.

In this way then, the factional struggle that had undermined Lozi kingship in the valley continued to undermine it in exile. Instead of one strong central kingship as had existed previously, there were three small semi-autonomous groups within which there was no security for the subject since either the king was too weak or else too prone to exploit his less important subjects. The king was no longer the father figure, protector and the symbol of unity of the nation. Each man was compelled to find a 'powerful friend' to look after him.

Another reason for the failure of a Lozi type of kingship to continue outside the valley was that physically the groups in exile were cut off from the supernatural basis of Lozi kingship, that is the royal grave sites scattered all over the valley. On one occasion at least, the group at Nyengo was reported to have visited the royal grave site at Katulamwa and secretly to have performed the necessary rituals of kingship.⁵⁰ Bearing in mind the vital role of ancestor spirits and of the royal grave keepers in a Lozi state, it is easy to envisage the dilemma that was faced by the Lozi groups in exile.

But a return to the valley did not only depend on the will of the people to organise themselves, for certain forces favoured this strongly.

The Lozi dispersal from the valley for instance coincided with a dispersal from Mwata Yamvo's kingdom in the middle and late nineteenth century. The pressure on, and finally the defeat of, Mwata Yamvo by the Chokwe resulted in a southward movement in the present North-Western Province of Zambia of peoples who had previously remained close to Mwata Yamvo's central authority in the present Katanga. This southward movement resulted during the

⁴⁹ D. Livingstone, *African Journal*, 1853-1856, p. 24; also *Missionary Travels*, p. 263.

⁵⁰ Incident quoted by G. C. Clay, from *Journal of the Royal African Society*, xvi, 1916-17, p. 149. G. C. Clay, 'Barotseland between 1801 and 1864'; paper presented to the Seventh Conference of the R.L.I. 1963, p. 13.

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second half of the nineteenth century in clashes between the Luvale and the Lunda, the Kaonde and the Nkoya, to mention only a few.⁵¹ Clearly then if the Lozi were to establish an alternative state outside Buluzi in the present north-west, they would have had to be sufficiently organised and strong to resist the southward expansion of the Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde peoples. In their state of disunity, it is difficult to see how the Lozi could have achieved this. The alternative was to fall back into their former homeland as soon as an opportunity arose.

Another reason favouring an early restoration was mainly economic. The economic benefits of the valley have already been examined and it seems reasonable to assume that the Lozi groups in exile wished to regain their former control of this wealth. This assumption seems even more reasonable when it is realised that one of the reasons why Imbua and his Nyengo group sought to attack the Lukwakwa group was because of the desire to take possession of iron ore deposits.⁵² Similarly it is said that when the Mbunda were still in exile at Nakalomo near the valley, they used to return secretly to their former homes in the valley to obtain food. During one such visit two Mambunda men are reputed to have been captured by the Matebele of Sikwanda (Ngabe)⁵³ who then pressed them to lead him to where the main Mbunda group were hiding.

The Lozi groups, then, failed to establish strong alternative centres outside Buluzi. On the other hand they remained linked to the valley by strong religious, political and economic ties.

It is equally important to remember that despite their various factional divisions, almost all Lozi groups, in exile and in the valley, had one common enemy in the Makololo. Throughout the period of the Makololo interregnum the Lozi groups though divided among themselves posed a threat of constant opposition to the invaders. For instance, the Nyengo group is said to have initially submitted to the Makololo but later decided to stand firmly against them despite Sibitwane's overtures. Livingstone recorded that the Makololo sent 'several embassies to Mpoa (Imbua) the Chief, but he stoutly refuses

⁵¹ P. G. D. Clark, 'Kasempa 1901-1951', *N.R. Journal*, ii, 5, 1955.

C. M. N. White, 'Notes on the political Organization of the Kabompo District and its inhabitants', *African Studies*, ix, 4, December 1950.

⁵² D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 485. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 46.

⁵³ Mwene Ciengle Singumbe Likishi.

submission'.⁵⁴ What is more, a number of clashes between the Makololo and the Lozi in Nyengo occurred of which Livingstone recorded that 'the Banyenko repulsed Sibitwane's people three times'.⁵⁵ Similarly the group in the north at Lukwakwa held out against the invaders. In September 1853 Livingstone recorded that when Mpepe, Sibitwane's nephew, anxious to obtain a name for bravery, 'went against Masiko, he saw an appearance of resistance and returned without striking a blow'.⁵⁶

In December of the same year Livingstone heard news of a Kololo retaliation campaign against Imasiku in which four villages were destroyed, eight captives taken and several people slain. This was because Imasiku had taken Kololo children, and was in the habit of raiding Kololo subjects.⁵⁷ The Lozi who remained in the valley proved equally hostile to the new overlords and once again Livingstone, who was close to the Kololo Court, recorded in 1851 that:

The Barotse are not very submissive subjects to Sibitwane. They have several times broken out into rebellion, killed women and children, and not infrequently kill those whom they dislike by overturning the canoes in which they are sailing.⁵⁸

In 1855 when at Naliele, Livingstone once more observed on Lozi attitudes towards the Makololo whom he reported they freely called 'upstarts' and 'a set of thieves'.⁵⁹

In view of their opposition all the main Lozi groups must have watched the numerical and political decline of the Makololo with great anticipation.

By the time of the Makololo overthrow, the Nyengo group seems to have ceased to exist as a separate chieftaincy. Although no detailed account is available concerning the group as a whole, a number of Lozi princes who originally went in exile to Nyengo had by 1864 left and divided themselves up between Lukwakwa and the valley. As has already been shown, among those who returned to the valley were Mebelo, Mando and Litia. All of them were ultimately

⁵⁴ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 140.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁵⁷ D. Livingstone, *African Journal, 1853-1856*, i, pp. 9, 10, 14.

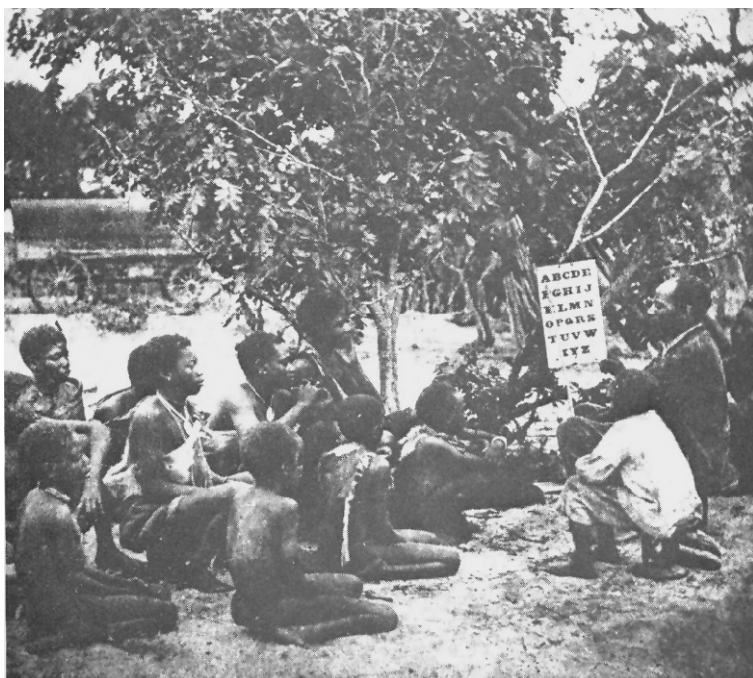
⁵⁸ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals, 1851-1853*, p. 61.

⁵⁹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 497.





The Mission party on its way to the Zambesi, probably taken at Lusuma in 1884. Standing, left to right: Rev. F. Coillard, and Rev. D. Jeanmairret (Swiss); sitting: Mr. Middleton, Miss E. Coillard, Mrs. Coillard, Mr. William Waddell, Sotho Evangelists and their wives.



The first school at Sefula, under the Sotho Evangelist Aaron, 1887



The first school at Sefula under Rev. A. Jalla, 1890



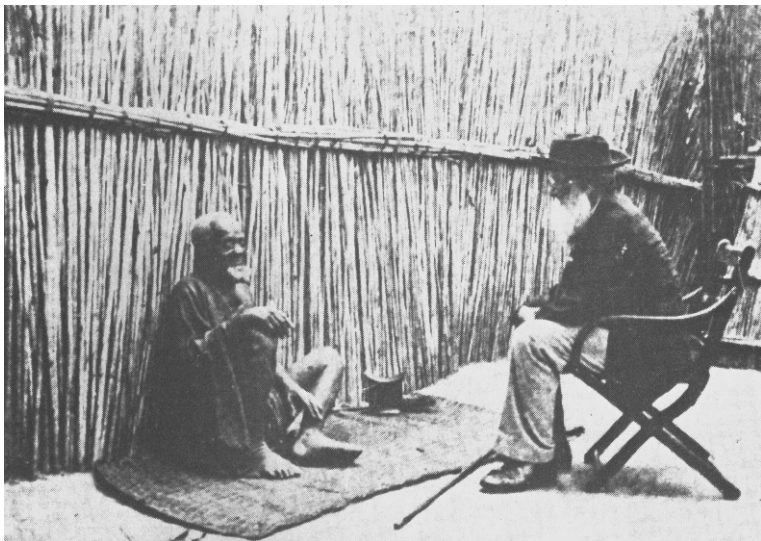
The first Trades School at Sefula, under W. Waddell, about 1890.



The last raid on the Mashukulumbwe, 1888. The photograph was taken at Kasima-ka-Lubanda close to Sefula Mission



The royal band at Lealui.



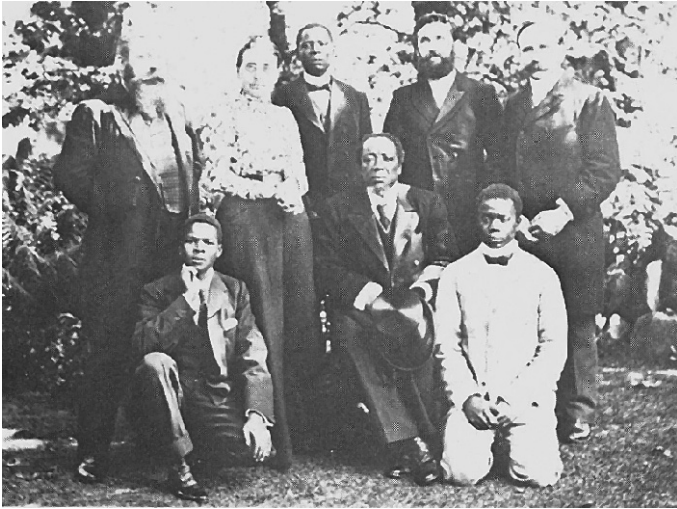
Lealui - Coillard with Nalubutu.



Tatila Akufuna who overthrew Lewanika (1884-1885)



Lewanika, Edinburgh, 1902,



Visit of Lewanika to Scotland, 1902. Standing left to right: Captain Bertrand (Geneva), Mrs. William Tod, Ngambela Mukamba Njekwa, Rev. A. Jalla, Mr. William Tod. Sitting: Interpreter Kanate (Sotho), Lewanika and Sikota, a personal attendant later known as Ishee Kwandu Sikota, Nalolo.



The iron bridge at Lealui, erected in 1908 to replace the wooden one made by Waddell in 1894

The decline of the Makololo and the Lozi restoration

executed by the Makololo, although Litia was survived by a young son called Lubosi. Imbua, the ruler in Nyengo, coveted the iron ore deposits of Lukwakwa and in 1864 moved there where he was duly made king when Lutangu Sipopa who was ruler at Lukwakwa returned to the valley to become the first ruler of the restored Lozi kingdom.

The final victory against the Makololo has been invariably attributed to two men: Njekwa, a Lozi nobleman, and Lutangu Sipopa, the Lozi prince brought up at Sibitwane's court who later escaped to Lukwakwa where he was eventually made king. There are numerous variations to the oral accounts, but the predominant version is that after Njekwa had successfully led the rebellion, he sent for Sipopa and offered him the kingship. Sipopa accepted the offer and left Lukwakwa for Bulobi to become the first Lozi king of the restored Lozi State.

It seems strange that Lozi oral tradition should be as suppressed about the mechanics of Lozi victory as it is about other aspects of Lozi history relating to the Makololo invasion. Somehow one would expect that people whose forbears took part in the overthrow of Kololo rule would be proud to talk of it! Sikota Akufuna, in his typescript refers only to the Lozi uprising in and occupation of the capital of Naliele.⁶⁰

The widespread resistance to Sipopa, following the Lozi restoration and the numerous campaigns of pacification he had to carry out, suggest that the Lozi had not gained complete control of Bulobi in 1864. Indeed, Sikota's reference to the occupation of Naliele may suggest that it was not 'the Lozi' who overthrew the Makololo, but groups within the Lozi. Some of the 'subject groups' had come out into open revolt against the Makololo long before the Lozi. As early as 1860 sections of the Ba Toka had come out in revolt while Lozi groups from the valley were still trying to incite Imasiku at Lukwakwa to attack Sekeletu.⁶¹ The force that overthrew the Makololo, headed by Njekwa, in 1864, is said on the other hand to have comprised the Lozi (faction in the valley), the Kwangwa, Nkoya and Lukolwe.⁶² Later, efforts by Sipopa to restore Mwene Mutondo Kashina, who had fled to join him at Lukwakwa, to the

⁶⁰ Sikota Akufuna, typescript, p. 10

⁶¹ See note 38, p. 88.

⁶² Rev. Malasa Shimunika Jehosophat, born 1900. Village: Lishenga; Kuta: Mwene Mutondo; District: Mankoya. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 46.

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Mutondoship were rebuffed by the Nkoya. Instead they accepted Shiwowa Munangisha a Nkoya prince who had been captured by the Makololo and settled in Kalabo.⁶³ What part had Munangisha played in the overthrow? Similarly the Ma Subiya and Toka groups in the south did not submit readily to the new Lozi ruler. They claimed that they had gained their autonomy with the overthrow of the Makololo.

Eventually the Lozi succeeded in winning back their former kingdom and re-established their ascendancy over the other groups but this did not all come in 1864. The Lozi had to prove and demonstrate the basis for their claims to authority all over again. The greatest challenge, however, came with the efforts to revive the Luyana State system as it had existed in the pre-Makololo period. This was to prove more difficult than re-establishing territorial control over the former empire; it became the dominant theme for the history of Bulozi to the end of the nineteenth century. Attempts were complicated by the presence in Bulozi of new state systems and institutions introduced not only by the Makololo but also by the Mambunda with whom the Lozi came into even closer contact during their exile from the valley. The twenty years after the defeat of the Makololo proved the most critical in the struggle to revive the old framework.

⁶³ Rev. Malasa Shimunika Jehosophat.

6 The restored Lozi kingdom 1864-85

Ours is a land of blood; kings and chiefs succeed each other here like shadows, they are never allowed to grow old.¹

These words were addressed to the pioneer missionary François Coillard in January 1885, by Mulena Mukwae Maibiba of Nalolo. Mukwae Maibiba was looking back over twenty years of political strife, which had produced three successful attempts to overthrow the ruler; Maibiba herself, and her brother Tatila Akufuna in the north, had succeeded to the kingship following a rebellion against Lubosi Lewanika who had fled as an exile to Mashi. What lay behind this persistent political instability in the restored Lozi kingdom?

Internally it would appear that there was a combined struggle for predominance and control among at least five distinct factions. Three of these sprang out of immigrant groups; first the Mam-bunda, who had settled in Bulozhi in the early nineteenth century or had established connections with the Lozi during the Lozi exile in Nyengo and at Lukwakwa; then the Makololo and associated Kololo-orientated Lozi; and finally the assimilated Tonga elements of the Sesheke district and the Lozi elements ready to side with them.

The Lozi of the valley were also divided, geographically and politically, in terms of the tension between the Nalolo or Mboela section and the central kingship to the north, and ideologically by the struggle between the traditionalist elements which looked back to the pre-Makololo Lozi State as their model and those who were

¹ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, 1897. p. 171.

prepared to accept the post-Kololo political structures. It would be normal to assume that internal feuding would be moderated by external threats, and undoubtedly the problem inherited from the Makololo of Matebele attacks from the south helped to produce some sense of Lozi unity. But the second threat, that from Lukwakwa in the north, was more serious, for it dangerously exacerbated the internal struggle for power.

Lukwakwa proved not only a source of continuous plots against the Lozi State, but also a refuge for malcontents from the valley. The Lozi return to power in the valley did not mean that all the factional differences which had led to their easy defeat by the Makololo were resolved. One branch of the royal family at Lukwakwa, with a predominantly Mbunda following, refused to throw in their lot with the rest of the Lozi who undertook to overthrow the Makololo. Among those who stayed behind at Lukwakwa were Imbua and his children Maibiba Kaunda, and Masheke. Imbua, who originally had gone to Nyengo, had moved to Lukwakwa and succeeded Sipopa there when the latter accepted the invitation to assume the kingship in the valley. Other members of the royal family at Lukwakwa included Namiluko, a son of Mulambwa, and his son Sikufele. Namiluko and Sikufele became the founders of the dynasty that ruled Lukwakwa until the twentieth century.²

A close study of all these forces, particularly the internal ones, is necessary for a proper understanding of Lozi history for the rest of the nineteenth century. The struggle that was going on was of vital importance to the State in that each group stood for a different form of state organisation and structure.

The traditionalist Lozi group sought a revival of Lozi institutions, particularly a kingship deriving its sanctions from its relationship with the ancestor spirits as expressed through the cult of the royal graves and from the divine descent of the kings from Nyambe, the High God, through Mbuyu and Mwambwa.³

The supernatural basis of Lozi kingship had been greatly impaired by the Kololo occupation of the valley. The royalist groups in exile could not visit their shrines in the valley, yet the traditional

² Synopsis of history of Sikufele dynasty. *Kabompo District Notebook*, pp. 169ff. K.T.V. I (N.A.Z.).

³ Mutumba Mainga, 'A History of Lozi Religion, to the end of the Nineteenth Century', *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo, Heinemann, London 1972.

Lozi State structure could not be maintained without the free and effective operation of the ancestral cult. It was the belief in the descent from Mbuyu that defined and limited the contestants to the succession. Moreover, the ancestral cult elevated the kingship above the ordinary people including even the aristocracy. It freed the reigning king from much damaging criticism since disasters and misfortunes were not attributed to his mistakes but to the wrath of the ancestors or of Nyambe. Only the king, through his ancestral spirits, could propitiate Nyambe on behalf of the nation as a whole. Finally, most institutions and all official titles in the State derived their justification and their claim to recognition from the acts of a particular king of the past.

The royalist Lozi groups in exile had understood their dilemma very well as attempts were made secretly to gain access to some of the royal shrines.⁴ However, with the defeat of the Makololo it became possible to effect a complete restoration of the traditional cult centred on the royal graves.

The Mbunda, on the other hand, stood for a very different type of political organisation. They had no tradition of a single centralised hierarchical state system but rather numerous semi-independent small chieftaincies based mainly on matrilineal clans. The Mbunda system was also distinguished from the Lozi system by its reliance on witchcraft and divination.⁵ These were the substitutes for the role played by the ancestor spirits of dead kings in Buluzi. They provided a means to predict the future and ascertain the causes of sickness, death or other natural and human disasters. Different types of apparatus were used in divination including a poison test of *Mwazi*, known in Lozi as *Mwati*. *Mwati* was a vegetable poison which was given to fowls in relation to some specific person or object, or which could be administered directly to suspected persons. If death resulted from taking *Mwati* this was taken as an indication of guilt; if vomiting resulted it was taken as an indication of innocence. Witchcraft and divination were special cults then which were used as a guide to past and future political action. In addition to this function, they made unnecessary the existence of a separate judicial system such as existed among the Lozi. The diviner

⁴ G. C. Clay, 'Barotseland between 1801 and 1864', *Conference on the History of the Central African People*, Lusaka R.L.L., 1963, p. 13.

⁵ Mwene Muundu, Luutwi Kuta Kalabo District, May 1970. C. M. N. White, *Witchcraft Divination and Magic*, Government Printer, Lusaka N.R. 1947.

was believed to have occult power for seeking out the guilty. In the ensuing political struggle in Bulozi, the cult of divination turned into a political instrument used to exclude and eliminate rivals.

The Kololo political structure was very different from that of the Mbunda by virtue of its centralisation. Kololo kingship was in its turn different from Luyana kingship in that it was a type of popular military leadership. Here the strength and stability of the State depended a great deal on the personality of the king himself. A weak ruler was not only liable to be dominated by powerful advisers but was also a weakening force on the State.

All these differences were highlighted through the struggle for appointment to office, the distribution of cattle and other booty captured from the Makololo and the resettlement of the land where the traditional tenants had become completely disrupted when the Lozi fled into exile and the Makololo took possession of most of the productive areas.

It would be unrealistic, indeed impossible, to attempt to analyse each of these forces in isolation and to relate them individually to the pattern of events after 1864. Moreover the characters who dominated Lozi history during this period were ready to vary their tactics and allegiances in their search for the most effective ways to further their ambitions. None the less, at given periods, a particular faction would appear more predominant than others.

In 1864 the predominant faction was that of the Lozi traditionalists led by Njekwa, who became the first Ngambela of the restored Lozi State. One of the explanations given for Njekwa's predominance within the traditionalist faction was the important role he played in the military campaigns, which saw the final overthrow of the Makololo. Njekwa is sometimes said to have been the leader of the Lozi faction that had stayed in the valley during the Makololo interregnum,⁶ but is also believed by others⁷ to have been the Ngambela of Lutangu Sipopa at Lukwakwa. Both traditions, however, agree on the fact that it was Njekwa who led the forces that finally defeated the Makololo in 1864. The Nkoya, Lukolwe and the Kwangwa are mentioned among the groups which allied themselves with Njekwa.⁸ Njekwa made such an impression that after the

⁶ Files on Lewanika's death and the succession of Yeta. N.R. B/1/2. 286 (N.A.Z.). Rev. Shimunika Malasa Jehosopha, born 1900. Village: Lishenga; Kuta: Mwene Mutondo; District: Mankoya.

⁷ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 46-7.

⁸ Shimunika Malasa Jehosopha. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 46.

Makololo were defeated he was offered the kingship. However, he declined to accept because, as he pointed out, he was a commoner. Instead, he offered the kingship to Lutangu Sipopa.⁹ The appointment of Lutangu Sipopa to the kingship provoked opposition from some of the traditionalist elements who objected to him on the ground that he had been too much influenced by the Makololo. After Sipopa's accession there was also criticism concerning the king's sharing of the cattle captured from the Makololo, while others complained about the distribution of offices.¹⁰

The opposition found leadership in Mataa, son of Mwala, who in 1863 had won a place of favour with the Kololo leader Mpololo by revealing a Lozi plot to overthrow him and make Litia king in his stead. (As a result of this Litia and Sibeso, the two Lozi princes who had fled to the valley from Nyengo, had been put to death.) Mataa, unlike his father, joined the restoration forces, but was disappointed when his aspirations to high office were not fulfilled.

In 1869 there was an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Sipopa and have him replaced by a new candidate from Lukwakwa.¹¹ That the plot was unsuccessful was mainly due to Njekwa's popularity and the support he gave to Sipopa. However, Sipopa soon began to resent the power and popularity of Njekwa, whose stock among the Lozi had risen even higher as a result of his unselfish gesture in declining the kingship. It is recalled that although Njekwa was formally a subject of Sipopa 'he practically ruled him'.¹² In 1871 Sipopa devised a means to reduce Njekwa's influence by promoting him to Ishee Kwandu (Prince Consort) to his co-ruler and daughter Kaiko in the south at Nalolo. Njekwa was thus compelled to give up his position in the north,¹³ but this arrangement failed to last, for in 1874 Njekwa's marriage to Kaiko was dissolved.¹⁴ Reasons for the failure of the marriage remain unknown, but it seems to have been more than a matrimonial quarrel. Njekwa was forced to flee north,

⁹ N.R. B/1/2.286.

¹⁰ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 47. G. Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika*, Chatto and Windus, London 1968, p. 14.

¹¹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 48. G. Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika*, p. 15.

¹² G. Atkin to Coryndon, 29 Oct. 1904. N.R. B/1/2.286.

¹³ It is said that when Njekwa moved he took with him all the cattle and slaves which went with his title as Ngambela. This move by Njekwa infuriated Sipopa and some other ambitious men. N.R. B/1/2.286.

¹⁴ G. Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika*, p. 17.

where he laid his spears before Sipopa and threw himself on the king's mercy. Njekwa's quarrel with Kaiko and his return to Namuso caused Sipopa great embarrassment and when Njekwa died shortly after his return, suspicion was aroused that Sipopa had had him killed.¹⁵

The immediate effect of this was to alienate the traditionalists and members of the Njekwa family who had formed the backbone of Sipopa's government. In desperation Sipopa sought to wipe out all possible centres of discontent. Njekwa's two brothers, Sakulala who had been the Ingangwana, and Silumbu who was Induna Namuyamba, were forced to flee the country and seek refuge with Sechele, ruler of Bakwena in the present Botswana.¹⁶

Sipopa drifted apart from the faction that had put him in power. He proved himself cruel and despotic. He ignored the national Council and according to Holub, 'whatever decisions it might arrive at, and whatever sentences it might pass, were completely overruled'.¹⁷ Instead Sipopa trusted and relied heavily on what Holub described as a 'Privy Council' which included among its members 'the state executioner, five or six private physicians, the cupbearer, one or two detectives, the superintendent of the fishermen, and the overseer of the causes'; in other words Sipopa relied on Likombwa and medicine men. The people's reactions to this are once again captured by Holub: 'By the tribes of the Marutse Kingdom in general the larger Council was held in high esteem, the Privy Council being regarded only with detestation and servile fear'.¹⁸

Sipopa is said to have been very frightened of witchcraft and in order to escape from its influence changed his village sites frequently.¹⁹ This fear, however, did not stop Sipopa from using the

G. Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika*, p. 17.

¹⁵ Walubita Mukhele, born 1897 at Kazungula. (Educated through P.M.S.) Village: Liyoo; Kuta: Mwandi; District: Sesheke. Sikota Akufuna typescript, p. 22-3. According to Sikota Akufuna, Njekwa was replaced as Ishee Kwandu at Nalolo by Muwema-waNgambo, a Mbunda who had come from Lukwakwa at the time of the restoration.

¹⁶ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 49. The trader, George Westbeeche, claimed to have sheltered Silumbu fleeing from Sipopa. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeeche (1885-1888) and Capt. Norman Macleod (1875-1876)*, Chatto and Windus 1963, p. 34.

¹⁷ Dr. Emil Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, 1881, p. 240.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 49; E. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, 1881, p. 240.

occult powers of the diviners. Holub recorded in 1875:

In Sipopa's employment there were likewise two old wizen-looking magicians or doctors... who exercised almost supreme control over state affairs... they had served under previous sovereigns and their experience enabled them now to minister to Sipopa's suspicions, to manage his temper, and to foster his superstitions. They enjoyed a kind of hereditary reputation... they were regarded by various tribes with awe rather than with hatred. That there had not been a revolt long ago against Sipopa's tyranny was mainly attributed to the belief that he had those in his secret council who could divine any plot beforehand and frustrate any stratagem that could be devised, and even when his despotism grew so great that the life of the highest in the kingdom was not secure for a day, not a man could be found to lift an assegai against him.²⁰

By 1875, however, Sipopa's diviners had been discredited, a certain charm which he had publicly exhibited and proclaimed infallible failed to produce its proper effect²¹ and he was deprived of his supernatural control of the situation. A fact which undoubtedly hastened the 1876 rebellion against Sipopa.

In July 1874 as he became aware of his diminishing control over the valley, Sipopa moved his capital to Sesheke.²² The Sesheke region had been under much more intensive Kololo influence than the north, and Sipopa hoped to find there greater sympathy for his 'untraditional' policies. Secondly he could play on the centuries-old conflict between the Tonga groups in Sesheke and Luyana Mbunda groups in the north.

After the Makololo overthrow, the Matotela, Subiya and Toka, who had also risen simultaneously against their Kololo overlords, sought to assert their independence of the Lozi. When Sipopa sent asking for tribute they had refused to send any. In 1865-6 Sipopa led a campaign against Sipatonyana which, according to Lozi tradition, penetrated the present Southern Province as far as Kalomo and conquered the Toka groups of Sipatonyana, Mukuni and Musokotwani.²³ Then Sipopa descended on the Subiya headmen

²⁰ E. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, p. 241.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 134; Jalla, p. 49.

²³ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 47. Lyashimba Imbula Mashekwa, born 1885. Kuta: Nasilimwe; Silalo: Nasilimwe; District: Senanga.

implicated in the plot and murdered them in cold blood. These campaigns reaffirmed Lozi control of Sesheke and Batoka provinces. In 1875 Holub recorded that the Ma Subiya paid tribute to Sipopa (then living in Sesheke) in the form of dry fish, fresh hippopotamus meat, skins, ivory and honey.²⁴

Once Sipopa had permanently moved to Sesheke, he came to rely more on the Ma Toka and Ma Subiya for his administration. He even planted colonies of Toka families in the valley, and raised them to positions of office and authority.²⁵

Sipopa's transfer of the Lozi capital to Sesheke was attributed by Arnot to a desire to trade with Europeans from the south.²⁶ Although it is true that Sipopa established a long-standing trading friendship with the trader George Westbeech and delighted in hunting elephants, which were abundant in the Sesheke-Chobe region, his treatment of the white traders hardly supports the explanation that trade was his main motive for moving south. Captain Norman Macleod, who attempted to open trade with Sipopa in 1875, recorded his experiences:

We waited on the Zambezi five weeks for permission from Sipopa, king of the Barotse people, to visit him at Sesheke his capital on the northern bank and 60 miles up river.

At last we got to Sesheke in canoes. Our idea was to get shooting on the north side, where game is abundant, as no one can cross the river ever without the king's permission, and no white men hunt there, but the king's idea was to get all out of us he could, and give us nothing in return....

The king did not treat us well going away, having got all he could out of us. He would not give me the big tusks I shot, which he had promised to give, and I had given him a valuable horse, beads and 2 rifles.²⁷

Holub, who visited Sipopa in the same year as Captain Macleod came to a similar conclusion about Sipopa's treatment of European

²⁴ E. Holub, 'Journey through Central Africa', *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society*, ii, 1880.

²⁵ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, pp. 268-9. It would be interesting to find out the identity of the Ma Subiya given offices in Bulozi for Sipopa's mother was a MuSubiya. Information supplied by Induna Biundwanono M. Wamundila. It is possible that Sipopa was promoting his maternal relations, on whom he could rely for support.

²⁶ F. S. Arnot, *Missionary Travels in Central Africa*, London 1914, p. 21.

²⁷ E. C. Tabler (ed.) *The Diary of Captain Norman Macleod, 1875-1876, Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, Chatto and Windus, London 1963, p. 109.

traders and hunters.

Sipopa was a cruel man and the few white men who had attempted to deal with him as traders or hunters had all in the end been badly treated.²⁸

Whatever his reason for moving, it soon became plain that Sipopa could not maintain control of affairs in the valley from Sesheke. His Ngambela, Mamili, who remained in the valley, advised him to return to Bulozo proper to reassert his authority. But Sipopa's terms were too high. He demanded as a condition that all his leading opponents should first be executed.²⁹ Refusing to carry out the order, and realising that Sipopa had lost all support, not only in the valley but even at Sesheke where he alienated his following through his cruelty, Ngambela Mamili placed himself at the head of a united rebellion against the king in 1876. Failing to secure support among the local groups, Sipopa fled first to Linyanti and then to Kazungula where a few Ma Subiya rallied round him. But a gunshot wound received when fleeing from Sesheke proved fatal.³⁰

Sipopa fell from power because of his failure to gain permanent control over any of the other major factions in the country, once he had eliminated his original supporters. However, he succeeded in effecting one crucial administrative reform. The division of the country under two semi-independent capitals at Namuso (Lealui) and Lwambi (Nalolo) had on three separate occasions plunged the country into civil war.³¹ The main weakness of this administrative division, it has been seen, lay in the fact that the southern ruler like all the other princes was eligible for the central kingship in the north, and should the succession be decided against him he was able to mobilise the forces and resources in the south against the

²⁸ E. Holub, 'Journey through Central East Africa', *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society*, ii, 1880, p. 178.

²⁹ Holub was still in Bulozo when the Ngambela came to Sesheke 'to pay homage to the king'. According to Holub, Sipopa wanted to get rid of the Ngambela whom he accused of treason with several Indunas. At the trial which followed the Ngambela and others accused with him were declared not guilty. Dr. Emil Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, London 1881, pp. 284-5, 365-7.

³⁰ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 49. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 53. Sikota Akufuna typescript, p. 10. When Sipopa moved to Sesheke he began to cultivate a large field about a mile from the present Boma. This came to be known as *Mulimambango*, meaning 'cultivating in vain' after Sipopa was deposed, and it still bears that name to the present day.

³¹ See my Chapter 3, note 29, p. 51.

successful candidate. Such a situation had occurred after Mulambwa's death. Instead of installing a male ruler at Nalolo, Sipopa took the decisive step of setting up his sister Kandundu as ruler at Nalolo. When Kandundu died in 1871, Sipopa chose as her successor, his daughter Kaiko. Although the first Lozi ruler of Nalolo is said to have been a woman,³² Sipopa's reforms at Nalolo could also be explained in terms of his experience under the Kololo leader, Sibitwane, who had placed his daughter Mamochisane as ruler of Nalolo during his lifetime and appointed her his successor on his death.

However, the main significance of the reform was that by maintaining the traditional Lozi practice of succession to the northern kingship through a direct male heir, the ruler of Nalolo and her descendants were barred from succession. Neither could the Nalolo rulers' descendants succeed to the kingship at Nalolo, since a woman could not pass on the kingship to her children. Hence the reform had a double significance. Firstly it freed the northern ruler from competition in the south. Secondly, Nalolo kingship was placed in the control of the northern ruler who each time the succession fell vacant invariably appointed a candidate outside the immediate family of the previous ruler. There was no chance now of a semi-independent dynasty developing in the south. Sipopa's reform became a permanent feature of the Lozi structure and has remained to the present day.³³

Sipopa failed to find a permanent solution to the Matebele and the Lukwakwa problems, but during his reign some active measures were taken.

In 1869 the Lukwakwa group agreed to join the anti-Sipopa plot. Both Imbua and Namiluko, with their children, were on the way to the valley when the plot was discovered. The Lukwakwa invading force was intercepted and Imbua and Namiluko were killed, but

³² Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende; Nayoya Sianga; Sikota Akufuna; A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 19.

³³ <i>North</i>	<i>South</i>	
Sipopa	Kandundu	sister
	Kaiko	daughter
Mwanawina	Mwangala	daughter
Lubosi Lewanika	Matauka	sister
Tatila Akufuna	Maibiba	sister
Lubosi Lewanika	Matauka	
Yeta III	Matauka	aunt
	Mulima	daughter
Imwiko	Mulima	niece
Mwanawina	Mulima	niece
Mwanawina	Makwibi	daughter
Mbikusita	Makwibi	niece

Sekufele, Maibiba Kaunda and Masheke managed to escape back to Lukwakwa.³⁴ In 1871 Sipopa sent an army against Lukwakwa. Sekufele, who had succeeded to the Lukwakwa kingship, fled before the attack and Sipopa's army was unable to do more than destroy his stockade.³⁵ Thus the problem of Lukwakwa passed on to Sipopa's successors.

Sipopa's efforts at solving the problem of the threat of the Matebele was, on the other hand, more effective. Luckily for Sipopa, the Matebele leader Mzilikazi was an ageing man by the late 1860s and, like most such military kingdoms, the life and energy of the state depended to a large extent on the personal ability of the king himself.³⁶ Mzilikazi died in September 1868 leaving a protracted succession dispute.³⁷ Even after his coronation in February 1870, Lobengula was too concerned with internal problems to turn his attention towards the Lozi. After 1871 Sipopa's friendship with the trader George Westbeech aided peaceful relations, for Westbeech was also on intimate terms with Lobengula and was fluent in both Sesotho and Sindebele.

Westbeech exercised his influence over the Matebele king to restrain raids on the Lozi. He had established trading business in Matebeleland in the early 1860s, leaving it under the management of his partner George Arthur Phillips, but visiting Matebeleland regularly. In 1868 Westbeech and Phillips accompanied Lobengula and a Matebele regiment on an expedition beyond the Hunyani River to the headwaters of the Mazoe and to its tributary the Inyagu; and two years later the two traders attended Lobengula's coronation.³⁸ Westbeech's influence over Lobengula was recognised in Bulolozi. He traded on the Zambezi for seventeen years until his death in July 1888. Sipopa gave him permission to hunt elephants anywhere in the country and he had ready access to the Kuta where his counsel was listened to as though he was one of the Indunas.³⁹ Westbeech maintained his role as an intermediary between the Lozi and the Matebele even after Sipopa's deposition and death in 1876, a

³⁴ 'Synopsis of the History of the Sekufele Dynasty', *Kabompo District Notebook*, p. 169.

³⁵ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 48.

³⁶ On 22 February 1860 Robert Moffat wrote to the London Missionary Society Pioneers at Linyanti (Helmore and Price) and described Mzilikazi as 'old and tired of war'; he is also said to have promised to make no more attacks on the Makololo. E. W. Smith, *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*, 1957, p. 97.

³⁷ F. W. T. Posselt, *Nkulumana: The Disputed Succession*, S. R. Native Affairs Department, 1923.

³⁸ E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, 1963, p. 5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Westbeech is remembered in Lozi tradition as Jolosi (George?).

role which was to be reduced only towards the end of the trader's life.

The weakening of external threats seemed only to intensify the factional struggle in the valley. When Sipopa had arrived to take up the kingship, he had adopted two orphaned princes, Lubosi, son of Litia who had been killed by Mpololo at Mwala's instigation in 1863, and Mwanawina, son of Sibeso who had also been killed by Mpololo at the same time as Litia. When the revolt against Sipopa broke out in 1876, Lubosi decided to flee with the king but later changed his mind and went north to his village at Likapai.⁴⁰ Mwanawina, on the other hand, made no attempt to follow the king and was found by the victorious rebel army at Katongo, Sipopa's village in Sesheke. It was to Mwanawina that Ngambela Mamili offered the kingship. Oral tradition does not record whether this was a sudden decision taken by Mamili in his immediate efforts to outdo his rivals, or whether it was a long premeditated move that would explain why Mwanawina remained at Katongo when Sipopa fled.

Mwanawina is said to have been about seventeen years old when he succeeded to the kingship.⁴¹ However, he had been hardly two years on the throne when in May 1878 he was forced to flee the country.⁴² Even more than Sipopa, Mwanawina was a victim of the factional struggle for power and control. Having succeeded in getting the kingship for Mwanawina, Mamili had wasted no time in putting forward his conditions to the young king and made no secret of his hunger for power. He claimed the right to be given the royal salute, helped himself to tribute before everybody else and when travelling went ahead of the king instead of behind him. He also sought to act alone in affairs of state to the great anger of all the Indunas and rival factions.⁴³ Consequently it was not long before Mamili, the hero of the revolution against Sipopa, fell out not only with the young king, whose position he was usurping, but also with the majority of the Indunas. In the reaction that followed Mamili and his children, as well as his brother Mwananuku, were driven from power and ultimately executed.

⁴⁰ Lubosi (Lewanika) later told the missionary Jalla that he became separated from Sipopa in the darkness. See A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 50. A. and E. Jalla, *Pionniers Parmi Les Ma-Rotse*, Florence 1903, p. 328.

⁴¹ S. Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, 1878, ii, p. 15.

⁴² B. Bradshaw, 'Notes on the Chobe River, South Central Africa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, iii, London 1881, pp. 208-13. A. Jalla, *Tableau Synchronique de la mission du Zambese et de la Nation des MaRotse*, unpublished typescript, p. 5; also *Litaba*, 1959, p. 51.

⁴³ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 50. G. Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika*, 1968, p. 19.

Mamili was succeeded as Ngambela by one Ngenda Mufolofolo, who had obtained the young king's favour and confidence. But Ngenda Mufolofolo in turn soon displayed the lust for power that had ruined Mamili, while his disrespect for his colleagues turned the majority of the people not only against him but also against the king. In Lozi tradition Ngenda Mufolofolo is remembered 'by his nickname Tula ba Kobaola (we shall beat them up) which summed up his attitude to his colleagues.⁴⁴

One of the causes of discontent against Mwanawina is said to have been the fact that he gave positions of authority to his mother's relations at the expense of everyone else.⁴⁵ This had some political advantages in that his maternal relations, who would normally be commoners, had no claim to power, while his paternal relations could claim a near equality of status and cherish pretensions to the kingship itself. It is not possible to determine how far Mwanawina carried out this policy without precise information about the names of office-holders during his reign. It is said that Mwanawina appointed his own mother as regent at Nalolo on behalf of his sister Mwangala, a young girl who had not yet reached puberty.⁴⁶ If so, it meant that contrary to tradition Nalolo was being ruled by a commoner.⁴⁷ Due either to the weakness of the Nalolo chieftaincy or to the favours and great reliance of Mwanawina on his maternal relations who were southerners, the old rivalry between Lwambi and Namuso came to a head once again. The southerners sought complete ascendancy over the northerners and even plotted to kill the northern Indunas resident in the south.⁴⁸ According to Jalla, Mwanawina tried to resist the demands of the southerners but without much success.⁴⁹ Serpa Pinto, on the other hand, gives as one of the reasons for the deposition of Mwanawina his implication in a plot to make a clean sweep of all the old Indunas and replace them with advisers of his own age. When the plan became apparent, it left

⁴⁴ Induna Biundwanono M. Wamundila. This account of Ngenda Mufolofolo was told in the presence of a grandson of Ngenda Mufolofolo.

⁴⁵ S. Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, ii, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Accounts by Neo Zaza and M. Sakanga. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 51.

⁴⁷ It is perhaps significant that Sikota Akufuna does not include Mwangala (nor her mother) among the rulers of Nalolo.

⁴⁸ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

the old Indunas with no other choice but to drive Mwanawina out.⁵⁰

In May 1878, under the pretext of a campaign against the Mashukulumbwe (Ila), the Lozi in a triple attack descended on Mwanawina at a place called Liandwa. The Ngambela Ngenda Mufolofolo was killed in the fighting while Mwanawina managed to escape. On fleeing from the valley he made for Mashi and Sesheke where he attempted to raise support from the Ma Subiya.⁵¹ Mwanawina did not succeed in raising sufficient support among the Ma Subiya and therefore he left Bulozi and went to Batoka where he continued his plans to regain the kingship.⁵²

Mwanawina had been ousted from power by three groups from Namuso in the north. One group was under Mukubesa, the second group comprising men from the central Silalo of Tungi, Sinumuyambi and Nambwawata, was led by Mataa, who had distinguished himself previously in the rebellion against Sipopa, and the third group from the western side of the Zambezi was headed by a rising warrior named Numwa.⁵³ The three groups fell into rivalry with one another as to who should supply the next candidate to the kingship. Mataa, even before Mwanawina had been overthrown, had fixed his eyes on Musiwa, a son of Sipopa, and given promise of his support. Musiwa was popular among the Mbunda groups in Bulozi, but the factions under Mukubesa and Numwa backed Lubosi. Lubosi's main champion was Silumbu the brother of Njekwa, whom Sipopa had compelled to go into exile. The competition was so intense that ultimately the question of the succession was resolved by the speed with which the sponsors of the two rival candidates moved to secure the royal drums. Lubosi was crowned king in the middle of 1878 at Namoyamenenwa where he was out hunting.⁵⁴ Lubosi's sister Matauka was also appointed as the

⁵⁰ S. Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, ii, pp. 16-17.

⁵¹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 51. B. Bradshaw, 'Notes on the Chobe River', p. 210.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Getting these historical figures identified was very difficult. According to oral sources, the name Numwa was a military praise name, his real name was Muyunda, son of Muwela. His home area was in Nanga in Inyundwana's Silalo. Some say he was of the same Mushiku of Noshaa as Mataa. Mataa was the son of Mwala, implicated in the murders of Litia and Sibeso by the Kololo leader Mbololo in 1863. Mataa's villages were Litoa in Nambwawata and Lueti on the confluence of the Malile and Zambezi. Information supplied by: Neo Zaza; Walubita Mukhele; Imasiku Mataa.

⁵⁴ See Sikota Akufuna on Lubosi's accession to the kingship: typescript, p. 11. Major Serpa Pinto, the Portuguese traveller, arrived at Lealui on 24 August 1878 and claims it was within days of Lubosi's installation; see *How I crossed Africa*, pp. 368 and 372. Also the missionary Coillard arrived at Sesheke on his first visit to Bulozi on 28 August 1878 and Lubosi the newly elected Lozi

ruler at Nalolo.

Lubosi found himself caught up with several problems from the time of his accession to the kingship. First of all, though he had emerged as the successful candidate, his position was far from secure. In Bulozhi Lubosi's position was challenged by Sipopa's children, who felt their claim to the chieftainship was stronger than that of Lubosi. Musiwa had been the immediate rival to Lubosi in 1878, but when Lubosi was made king, Musiwa feared there would be some repercussion and therefore took refuge among the Mbunda of Mwene Ciengele. Meanwhile Mataa, who had supported Musiwa, anxious to win and maintain Lubosi's favour, engineered the execution of a number of Lubosi's trusted friends by giving false reports.⁵⁵ However, by March 1879 the duplicity of Mataa and his involvement for Musiwa became known to Lubosi. Meanwhile a plot to put Mutumweno, another son of Sipopa, in the place of Lubosi got under way.⁵⁶ Lubosi responded to this threat by ordering that Sipopa's sons should be executed. In December 1879, Mutumweno, Kaluwe and Wamulimungwa, all children of Sipopa, were killed.⁵⁷ But the hunt for Musiwa was foiled by the latter's Lozi and Mbunda supporters, who conspired with Lubosi's messengers (who may have been appalled by the bloodshed) to deceive the king into believing that Musiwa was dead.

A short breathing space for Lubosi ended abruptly in the middle of 1880, when the king learnt that Musiwa was still alive.⁵⁸ His fury was vented on those implicated in the plot to conceal Musiwa by a round of fearful executions, while a force under Numwa was despatched with strict orders to procure the capture of Musiwa. Numwa slaughtered his way to Musiwa's hiding place and delivered him bound to Lubosi at Lealui. There the king had him ceremonially strangled (some say starved to death), under a mupolota tree which to this day is known as Mupolota wa Musiwa.⁵⁹

king was still building his capital. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, 1897, p. 342.

⁵⁵ F. Coillard recorded that Lubosi had seven Indunas killed as a result of his roused suspicion. See *On the Threshold*, p. 343.

⁵⁶ Major Serpa Pinto was involved in this plot. He named the man behind Mutumweno as Machuana. Machuana is also said to have served under both Sibitwane and Sipopa. (I personally have failed to identify this man.) S. Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, ii, pp. 24-5.

⁵⁷ The date given by Pinto, see *How I crossed Africa*, ii, p. 61. Jalla does not give the date but mentions the execution. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 53.

⁵⁸ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 343.

⁵⁹ Walubita Mukhele; Thomas Mwandawande Muwindwa; F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 343, A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 53.

As a result of the capture of Musiwa and the punitive measures taken by Lubosi, many of the Mbunda were killed, while some returned to their original homes in the present Angola.⁶⁰ Those Mbunda who remained never forgave the king for this atrocity and from this time their diviners were in constant, if covert, opposition to him.

While Lubosi was combating threats to his position within Bulozi, Mwanawina in Batoka was waiting for an opportune moment to strike. He succeeded in recruiting some Chikunda hunters known as Makupekupe by the Lozi,⁶¹ who had penetrated the Gwembe Valley, and with these and some Taka followers, Mwanawina attempted to regain his position early in 1879. Mwanawina advanced as far as Sesheke, which he found deserted at the news of his advance. After burning Sesheke down and recruiting support among the Ma Subiya, he decided to make for the valley. Mwanawina met with the forces of Lubosi at Lumbe River. After fierce fighting Mwanawina was defeated and forced to retire to Batoka. Bradshaw recorded that when he left Bulozi in May 1879 the news was that the Makupekupe had sent for reinforcements. The Ma Subiya, on the other hand, were fleeing up the Chobe River to seek refuge at Mababe in Khama's country among the BaMangwato.⁶² As it turned out nothing more was seen or heard of Mwanawina, but rumours of his return to Bulozi haunted Lubosi for nearly thirty years. As late as 1906

The Barotse imagined that they wanted a new chief and their thoughts not unnaturally turned to Mwanawina who might yet, for anything they knew to the contrary, be still alive.⁶³

Since Lubosi's position was so insecure it was necessary for him to identify himself with the strongest groups in the country. This he

⁶⁰ Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi; Neo Zaza; F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 343.

⁶¹ Imasiku Mataa; Neo Songa Zaza. B. Bradshaw, 'Notes on the Chobe River', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* iii, p. 210.

It is difficult to establish the identity of these Chikunda hunters. However, they are believed to have been middlemen from the present Mozambique for the Portuguese traders on the east coast. The Lozi nicknamed them Makupekupe from their dress-clothes which clung to their legs and produced clapping noises as they walked. In 1877 the hunter Frederick Courteney Selous recorded his encounters with 'Shakunda' (Chikunda) parties trading and raiding for slaves among the Tonga both of the Zambezi valley and present Southern Province of Zambia. F. C. Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa*, Macmillan and Co., London 1920, pp. 302, 307, 311.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ N.R.B. 1/2.286 (N.A.Z.).

succeeded in doing through his allocation of offices. Lubosi appointed Silumbu, who had previously held the position of Namuyamba, to the Ngambelaship. Silumbu, like his brother Njekwa before him had risen to become a great political figure in Bulozhi. Coillard in January 1879 reported Silumbu as 'the most influential man of the tribe and the real ruler.... Everyone speaks well of him.'⁶⁴

The other leaders of the rebellion against Mwanawina had their appointments also. Mukubesa succeeded to the title of Muleta while Mataa was made Namuyamba, the position which was previously held by Silumbu. Mataa, however, was not satisfied with his compensation especially since he was certain the Ngambelaship would have gone to him if Musiwa, his candidate, had been successful. Mataa's chagrin was increased by Silumba's refusal on his promotion as Ngambela to relinquish his claims to the village of Lubachi, which he had held as part of his title right as Namuyamba. (The extent of Mataa's mortification on this occasion was demonstrated in 1884 after he had successfully engineered a revolt against Lubosi, for one of his first actions was to assert his right to Lubachi.)⁶⁵

Mataa, dissatisfied with his appointment, humiliated by Silumbu over Lubachi and fearful that Lubosi might seek revenge for his involvement with Musiwa, became the centre of opposition against Lubosi. He began to criticise Lubosi freely and by early 1884 it was clear that he was planning to oust the king. Indeed, Lubosi pointing at Mataa declared: 'You will be the one to kill me.'⁶⁶

It seems strange that Lubosi although fully aware of Mataa's intention against him did not do anything to stop him. This might be because Mataa was already too strong a rival. Westbeech described Mataa as 'Chief of the Ba-no-Sha' and this was what he had to say about the Banosha:

There has been since Sipopa's days a family of great importance amongst the Barotse called the Banosha and who were the prime movers in the insurrections against Sipopa and Ngwana-wena....⁶⁷

⁶⁴ F. Coillard, *Sur le haut Zambeze*, 1899, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Walubita Mukhele' Thomas Mwandawande Muwindwa. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 53.'

⁶⁶ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 54.

⁶⁷ E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, pp. 44 and 45.

Lubosi might also have been anxious to preserve peace and unity within Bulozi for fear of external threats. Towards the end of 1878 Pinto recorded that Lubosi was 'not on the best terms with the Matebelis, [and] he is threatened with civil war raised by Mwanawina....'⁶⁸ Mwanawina, as already seen, attempted to invade Bulozi the next year and although he was ultimately driven out, he remained a constant threat to Lubosi over a long period. The Matebele, on the other hand, terrorised southern Bulozi. In 1883 they attacked the Tawana, neighbours of the Lozi in the Lake Ngami area, and forced them to scatter into the swamps while they carried off their cattle. All this brought home to Lubosi the extent of the external dangers to his position and the Lozi State. It is therefore not surprising that Lubosi avoided any measures that would divide the people and undermine the State further by seeking to crush Mataa, especially when he was not even sure what the outcome for himself would be.

Mataa systematically began to build up the opposition, bringing together the Mbunda and all pro-Sipopa factions. He also succeeded in winning over some of the Sesheke Indunas. The Sesheke Indunas were partly influenced by the fact that the principal Induna there, Murantsiane Sikabenga, was a relation of Mataa. But Sesheke's opposition to Lubosi also represented the continuation of a long-drawn political struggle that reached back to the time of Lubosi's accession. The king had been suspicious of the Sesheke people knowing of their inveterate resentment of the northern kingship and fearing that they might ally themselves with Mwanawina; Mwanawina's attempted invasion of Bulozi in 1879 proved that Lubosi's fears concerning the Sesheke people were partially justified. After Mwanawina was driven back to Batoka, Lubosi carried out punitive campaigns against the Ma Subiya and Ma Toka. When F. S. Arnot arrived in the Chobe area in August 1882, he found the Ma Subiya in a state of terror because the Lozi had vowed destruction of them, while the Mashukulumbwe and Ma Toka were being 'slaughtered' and 'scattered' in all directions.⁶⁹ Mataa, therefore, did not fail to win support in Sesheke and when the news of the later revolution against Lubosi was received it was

⁶⁸ S. Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, ii, p. 23.

⁶⁹ F. S. Arnot, *From Natal to the Upper Zambezi; extracts from letters and diaries of F. S. Arnot, 1881-2*, p. 48.

greeted with 'delight' and a series of celebrations in Sesheke.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, Lubosi was losing the support of an important section of his following in the valley. Mukwae Matauka his sister and co-ruler at Nalolo shocked opinion by killing her Induna Mukwakwa, one Pakalita, a popular and influential old man.⁷¹ The murder was condemned even by the Ngambela Silumbu. Several Indunas who had given their support to Lubosi in 1878 swung over to support Mataa's plot. They included Numwa, who was related to Mukwakwa Pakalita, Induna Muleta Mukubesa and Induna Kalonga Mubita in the north, and the Sambi (the Ngambela of the southern ruler) and the Mukwae's Ishee Kwandu in the south. These staged a sudden uprising in July 1884 and forced Lubosi to rush from the capital to Mashi, saving no more than his bare life. Matauka at Nalolo was captured by the rebels and held captive at Mataa's village Luweta or Lueti.⁷² Silumbu the Ngambela did not join the rebels but decided to follow Lubosi into exile in Mashi.

In the valley, Mataa as champion of the rebels turned to Lukwakwa for a candidate to the kingship. In September 1884, Tatila Akufuna, a son of Imbua, was made king, while his sister Maibiba became the ruler at Nalolo. Mataa himself became the Ngambela with all the power and authority he had long coveted.

However, Mataa was not to enjoy his newly won position for long. Divisions soon began to appear among the rebels partly because of Mataa's greed and partly because of Tatila Akufuna's inexperience and unsuitability as a ruler. Tatila Akufuna's weakness gave Mataa all the control and power he wished for, but at the same time lost him his following. Moreover, with the choice of Akufuna as king, the rebellion assumed a new meaning. It suddenly became evident that the rebellion had accomplished not only the downfall of Lubosi, but also the collapse of the Lozi traditional state system. Coillard recorded that there were rumours that 'the Government of the nation is going to undergo serious changes'.⁷³

Tatila Akufuna himself spoke only Mbunda and did not understand either Siluyana or Sikololo. Coillard met Tatila Akufuna early

⁷⁰ F. Coillard, 'Report, Sesheke, 19 August 1884', *Journal des Missions*, Paris 1885, ix, p. 140.

⁷¹ Walubita Mukhele; A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 55. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 215; also *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, pp. 228-9.

⁷² In January 1885 on Coillard's first visit to the valley he found Matauka still a captive in rebel hands; 'I saw her last year, a prisoner of Mathaha, where she would have been a slave, had it not been for that good Maibiba, queen in spite of herself.' See *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, p. 227.

⁷³ Coillard to Boegner, Leshoma, 16 Oct. 1884, Paris.

in 1885 and recorded the popular view of him:

The king is but an inexperienced youth who was born and has been raised in exile. He is a perfect stranger amongst the tribes who have called on him to govern. He does not as yet speak the language of the ba-Rotsi, nor that of the ma-Kololo. There is already discontent. Some are regretting the ex-king, others are looking towards a new leader.⁷⁴

The realisation that by overthrowing Lubosi the Lozi had brought on themselves Mbunda domination seems to account for the spontaneous support for Lubosi that appeared in 1885 in the valley, particularly in the south. Mataa too, despite the advantages the situation afforded him, soon came to despise Tatila Akufuna. He spoke of him to Coillard in contemptuous terms: 'He is of the stuff that makes batlonuka [slaves] but not of that which makes kings, no.'⁷⁵

However, to the Lozi traditionalists Mataa's attempt to replace Tatila Akufuna by inviting Sikufele from Lukwakwa was equally unsatisfactory. Sesheke people were also dissatisfied with the redistribution of power and booty following Lubosi's overthrow. It seems they even went as far as to demand that the capital of Bulozi should be transferred to Sesheke.⁷⁶

Soon open factions appeared both in the valley and at Sesheke. Some of the Indunas who had participated in the rebellion against Lubosi began to assist the loyalists. In this way Mukwae Matauka was helped to escape and join her brother Lubosi.⁷⁷ At Sesheke Induna Ratau and several of the Seoma chiefs openly opted for Lubosi, while Murantsiane reinforced his group supporting Mataa by enrolling support among the Matotela and Toka.

In March 1885, quite independent of Lubosi who was still in Mashi, loyalists mainly from the Lilalo of Nasiwayo led by Muhongo, Sinumuyambi under Mumeka and Lizwele and from Katongo, confronted the rebels demanding Lubosi's return. They were repulsed at a bloody battle at Mukoko (Mongu) in which one of the leaders of the loyalists, Muhongo, was killed.⁷⁸ Westbeech recorded

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, p. 207.

⁷⁵ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, p. 207.

⁷⁶ F. Coillard to Boegner, Leshoma 16 Oct. 1884, Paris.

⁷⁷ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 57.

⁷⁸ Sakanga Muhongo; Ndate Muyunda. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 56-7.

that following this defeat one group of the loyalists fled to the island of Sampete on the Zambezi and blocked river communication for the rebels.⁷⁹ Mataa was prevented from following up his victory by a number of his lieutenants who either betrayed his plans to the loyalists or assisted them to get away. After the Mukoko battle, for instance, one Lucanana was sent, according to Jalla, to intercept the fleeing loyalists and to bring back their cattle, but en route Lucanana transferred his allegiance to Lubosi. Similarly Mataa and Numwa sent Kalonga and one Siluka to surprise Lubosi in Mashi, only to find that Siluka betrayed Kalonga and warned Lubosi of the approaching attack. Kalonga himself later accepted Lubosi's invitation and changed sides. Meanwhile the rebel leaders got more divided and as a result Mukubesa was executed.⁸⁰

Reports of the conflicts in the valley and of the increasing support for the exiled Lubosi reached Mashi. In July 1885⁸¹ Silumbu with a large army went ahead of Lubosi in a move to reconquer the valley, but with the rebels in process of changing rulers he encountered no resistance. Mataa and Numwa had gone to Lukwakwa to invite Sikufele while Tatila Akufuna fled to Sesheke and then to Batoka among Siachitema's people. By the time Mataa and the new candidate Sikufele returned to the valley, Lubosi had also arrived there to join Silumbu with yet another large army collected from Mashi, Seoma and Nalolo. In November 1885⁸² Lubosi regained the kingship after a bloody battle in which Silumbu and the rebel leaders Mataa and Numwa and their chosen king Sikufele were killed.⁸³ It is invariably claimed that Lubosi's victory was due to the intervention of some Mambari slave traders whom he turned to for

⁷⁹ E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 28. F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, p. 200. In August 1888 Westbeech reported that the news was that the loyalist group on the island had left and after killing three headmen opposed to Lubosi, had fled through the Chobe to join him. *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 30.

⁸⁰ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 57.

⁸¹ A. Jalla, *Tableau Synchronique de la Mission du Zambeze et de la Nation des Marotse*, typescript, p. 7. The account of the revolution and the restoration by Westbeech is confusing and the dates are mixed up since his accounts were sometimes based on rumours. (See note 82.)

⁸² Jalla recorded the date of Lewanika's victory under 4 November 1885. See A. Jalla, *Tableau Synchronique de la Mission du Zambeze et de la Nation des Marotse*. Westbeech started hearing rumours about Lewanika's victory from mid-October. However, in his entries no sign occurs of Lubosi being in authority until mid-November. See E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 33.

⁸³ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 64-5. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, pp. 30, 32, and 33. A full traditional account of Lubosi's victory was given by Ndate Muyunda Wamunungo.

help with promises of favourable trade conditions.⁸⁴

Lubosi inflicted such a resounding defeat on his rivals that from this time he came to be known by the praise name of 'Lewanika'.⁸⁵ With Lewanika's return to power, the traditionalists were once again in control. From 1885 until a new force in the form of European penetration began to make itself felt, Lewanika consciously set out on a policy of 'revival', with the aim of entrenching his power through a restoration of the old Lozi institutions.

⁸⁴ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 65. Ndate Muyunda Wamunungo.

⁸⁵ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, 1897, p. 217, note I. There were several variations in the accounts given as to the meaning of 'Lewanika'. But in all accounts it was clear the name could be loosely translated to mean 'conqueror'.

7 Lewanika and the survival of the monarchy, 1885-1900

Lubosi's position before and after the revolution of 1884-5 was summed up in his change of names. Before the revolution he was Lubosi 'the escaped one', the unfortunate born in exile at Nyengo in about 1842. After 1885 he was Lewanika 'the conqueror'.

But the change of names and the prestige of a great victory did not set at rest the main political problems of the country, which remained much as before. Despite the military triumph of the traditionalists, both the Mbunda and Kololo factions were still well represented in Bulozhi; at Sesheke all was confusion; Lukwakwa remained a haven for malcontents and a potential source of revolution. In the south the Matebele were challenging the Lozi over the raiding grounds among the Toka and Ila in the present Southern Province of Zambia as well as threatening the southern limits of Bulozhi. In addition, victory brought its own problems: the recognition and rewarding of the men who fought and won the war, the new appointments to office and the distribution of cattle and land.

One of the first measures Lewanika undertook was a campaign to rid himself of all known rivals, particularly those who were implicated in the 1884 rebellion. In the valley Lewanika was determined to wipe out all Mataa's family and relations, to whom both the trader Westbeeck and the missionary Coillard refer under their *mushiku* (clan or totem name) of 'Noshaa'. In May 1886 Coillard wrote:

The vengeance of the king continues. He has vowed to completely exterminate the house of the Konoshaa. For months his emissaries have been carrying out secret missions all over the

country.¹

Mukubesa's family was also killed off in this campaign of vengeance. After Coillard had preached against the spilling of blood Lewanika decided to kill Mukubesa's wife and children by making them drink poisoned beer publicly in the Kuta, while he addressed them saying : 'You are of a cursed race. Your fathers killed the kings who did them much good, they killed my own children. The day of vengeance has come for me.'²

Lewanika's purge was so thorough and bloody that, according to Coillard, it would 'make anyone's hair stand on end' and the missionary was amazed that Lewanika was capable of such severity:

What struck me in the king is that with many good qualities he is animated by an insatiable thirst of vengeance, and that vengeance is not wreaked on the leaders of the late revolution but on all their kin, women and children.³

The purge was extended to Sesheke also. But Lewanika must have realised that he could not carry on the purge in the valley and at Sesheke simultaneously. While, therefore, he carried out the executions in the valley, he kept the Sesheke group quiet with promises of forgiveness and invited them to return to their homes and to cultivate their fields. Murantsiane, Mataa's relation and leader of the rebel faction at Sesheke, was promised the hand in marriage of Mukwae Matauka, Lewanika's sister, and co-ruler at Nalolo.

However, as soon as Lewanika got matters in the valley under control he sanctioned the extension of the purge to Sesheke as well. Many at Sesheke were caught by surprise and killed.

Coillard visited Sesheke soon after the night swoop by Lewanika's emissaries and commented: 'It made my heart ache to visit the scene of the carnage.'⁴ However, Murantsiane Sikabenga himself managed to escape and fled to Siachitema's in Batoka.⁵

Meanwhile the government of the country had to be re-established and those who had effected Lewanika's restoration to be rewarded. This gave Lewanika a unique opportunity of building

¹ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, 1899, p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 299; also *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, 1897, p. 285.

³ F. Coillard to his sister-in-law, Sesheke, 22 May 1886 in C.O. 5/1/1/1; folio 703 (N.A.R.)

⁴ Coillard to Hunter, Sesheke, 12 January 1886; C.O. 5/2/1, N.A.R.

⁵ Coillard Report: Sefula, Jan. 1888; *Zambeze File*, Paris.

round him a group of staunch supporters at the Kuta and in territorial administration.⁶

In the war Lewanika had lost his main supporter and source of strength, Ngambela Silumbu. Silumbu was given a funeral of royal grandeur, and Lewanika took into his household a young nephew of Silumbu, Mukamba, a son of Njekwa, whom Silumbu had 'adopted' following Njekwa's death in 1874. Lewanika recognised that finding a successor to Silumbu was a delicate affair, as former appointments to the Ngambelaship and resulting struggles had shown. The Ngambela needed at this juncture was one acceptable to all the pro-restoration forces who, at the same time, would fully accept the king's supremacy. Lewanika turned to a leading figure of the restoration, Mwauluka, one of the Seoma chiefs, who had assisted by keeping Mukwae Matauka of Nalolo in exile. The appointment was perhaps also calculated to win over the Sesheke people.

Apart from the Ngambelaship, Lewanika had to fill several other posts left vacant by his fallen enemies, as well as to reward his supporters. Mumeka, who had led the Sinumuyambi loyalists, became Natamoyo; Mukalyana, who with Mumeka had arranged Matauka's escape from rebel captivity, as well as fought in the restoration battle, became the Sambi (prime minister) at Nalolo; Kalonga Mubita, despite his original support for the rebels, retained his title and the leadership of the Likolo of Njeminwa.

For one reason or another Lewanika was anxious to have Kalonga on his side. Some oral sources⁷ say that it was because Kalonga had a strong following in the Libonda and Nyengo regions in the north-west of Buluzi, areas in which Lewanika had few supporters and which were near to Lukwakwa. Regional and territorial appointments were similarly used by Lewanika to build up his position and to reward the loyalists.⁸

In addition, Lewanika settled groups of his supporters in the former home districts of the rebel leaders. In Nambowata, where Liunga, the forest village of Mataa was situated, Lewanika planted a settlement under Mbumbo, a son of Libebe, the Mbukushu chief

⁶ In March 1886 the artisan missionary Waddell recorded: 'His Majesty in choosing new ministers or chiefs has favoured very especially those who risked their lives for him.' W.A./1/1, Vol. II (N.A.R.)

⁷ Induna Biundwanono M. Wamundila.

⁸ The writer's grandfather, Wamundila (died 1936), who was a representative Induna among the Mbukushu, was as a result of the 1886 reforms promoted to Lealui and put in charge of Sinumuyambi Silalo (Forest section).

who had been his main host in exile. Mbumbo brought with him a number of followers from the Okavango River, whose descendants still live to this day in Nambowata. Another settlement was made in the valley near the confluence of the Malile and the Zambezi near Lueta, Mataa's village in the valley. Here Lewanika erected *Munzi wa lindume* (village for the brave) at Ngombemongo. To some of those on whom he bestowed honours the king granted the right to live in Ngombemongo where each was given a herd of cattle varying in size according to the honour conferred. Among these were Muhongo Mukelabai, son of Muhongo the loyalist leader killed in the Mukoko war; Simonamiyo of Matondomange; and Mulonda of Katema.⁹

In all these various ways Lewanika attempted to bind almost all the men of weight and power to his cause. Having secured his internal position, Lewanika sought external allies, establishing friendship with Khama of the Bamangwato¹⁰ and Moremi of the Tawana of Lake Ngami,¹¹ both of whom made it clear to the Lozi that they would come to Lewanika's aid in the event of further trouble. Lewanika's friendship with Moremi and Khama went back to the period before the 1884 rebellion, and this had been strengthened by personal ties with the two rulers during his period in exile in Mashi. When Lewanika had found himself among the Mbukushu of Libebe and was contemplating asking Moremi for military assistance, he had received an invitation from the chief. Lewanika, then still known as Lubosi, sent Silumbu instead, who came back laden with generous presents and provisions for the exiled Lozi ruler. Although Moremi promised Lewanika military aid to regain his position, a raid by the Matebele prevented him from complying when the occasion arose at the end of 1885. After repelling the Matebele attack, Moremi hurried to Lealui, only to find that Lewanika had already defeated the rebels and regained his position. Moremi thereupon addressed a stern warning to the Lozi scolding them so

⁹ Information on rewards and resettlement by Induna Biundwanono (formerly Induna Saywa) M. Wamundila whose father was one of those affected. Ngombemongo no longer exists as 'Munzi wa Lindume' but it is remembered by many in that capacity. On the other hand descendants of Libebe's son Mbumbo are identifiable and still live in Nambowata and Kataba.

¹⁰ Khama, 1828-1923. Ruler of the Mangwato 1872-3; 1875-1923. F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*, James Hawkins, London 1889, p. 20. E. Baker, *The Life and Explorations of F. S. Arnot*, London 1923, p. 97.

¹¹ Moremi, chief from 1874-90, kept contact with Lewanika, exchanging messages and presents. Lechualatebe (died August 1874), Moremi's father, was conquered by the Makololo. This was the beginning of the contact between the Tawana and Bulozi. Livingstone recorded that Lechualatebe used to warn the Makololo against the Boers and advised them to get armed. D. Livingstone (ed. I. Schapera), *Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, pp. 130, 131, 156.

severely for their rebellious nature that he nearly provoked an attack on his followers.¹²

Lewanika's ties with Khama went back to 1883 when Lewanika accepted the advice of Arnot, the Plymouth Brother missionary, and sent a message through him seeking Khama's friendship.¹³ Khama responded favourably and the two rulers began the practice of exchanging messengers and presents. When the revolution broke out in 1884 Khama's messenger was on his way to Lealui. There were fears that he would be molested by rebels, but instead he came back laden with furs for his master, proving that the rebels were also anxious for Khama's favour.¹⁴ Khama was to remain a powerful influence and support for Lewanika not only in internal politics but also in dealing with the problem of white penetration and settlement in the 1890s.

Having dealt with the immediate political issues, Lewanika turned his attention to administrative reforms designed to promote stability and strengthen his position as king. The most significant reforms were carried out at Sesheke.

Trouble at Sesheke did not end with Lewanika's purge of 1886. With Sikabenga's flight, the Sesheke opposition shifted its centre to Batoka where Murantsiane joined Tatila Akufuna at Siachitema's. Murantsiane continued to foment trouble in Sesheke and to gather malcontents from those around him. The position grew so critical that in March 1888, Coillard observed that: 'The great province of Sesheke is holding on by only a thread to the Barotse Kingdom.'¹⁵

Early in 1888, Murantsiane Sikabenga took advantage of Lewanika's absence from Bulobi on an expedition against the Ila (Mashukulumbwe) and descended on Sesheke with plans to invade the valley. But Murantsiane had greatly over-estimated his influence and his appearance failed to touch off a general uprising against Lewanika. Lewanika acted promptly, and the rapid despatch

¹² E. C. Tabler (ed.), 'Diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888 and Captain Norman MacLeod, 1875-1888', *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, Chatto and Windus, London 1963, pp. 45, 47. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, 1897, p. 219. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 62.

¹³ Arnot had known Khama and learned Sechuana before coming to Bulobi. After Arnot had arrived in Bulobi Lewanika received a delegation from Lobengula of the Matebele inviting him to become a blood brother and to join the Matebele in resisting the whites advancing from the south. Arnot advised Lewanika to form friendship with Khama, who had accepted Christianity and was seeking peaceful ways of adjusting to the new European force. F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*, p. 20. G. Baker, *Arnot*, p. 97.

¹⁴ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, 1899, p. 175.

¹⁵ Coillard Report: Sefula, 26 January 1888, *Zambeze File*, Paris.

of his troops to Sesheke forced Sikabenga to flee back to Batoka, after killing, amongst others, the two loyalist leaders at Sesheke, Ratau and Tahalima.¹⁶ Here, in August 1888, he was killed by a raiding Impi of the Matebele.

The prolonged troubles at Sesheke impressed on Lewanika the need to bring the province under tight control. Since the time of Sipopa, Lozi administration of Sesheke had consisted of a loose council of about fifteen chiefs or Indunas. They were not permanently resident at Sesheke capital, but came in from their own villages only when public affairs required. Coillard had his own reasons for being critical of this system:

Sesheke is the official residence of some twelve or fifteen chiefs who prefer to live away in their own villages scattered in all directions. The capital of the district is often deserted or left to the care of a few slaves who feel as yet little attracted to the preaching of the Gospel...¹⁷

Lewanika decided to establish a more continuous and effective administration by replacing the loose council of Indunas with a single chieftaincy and a Kuta on the pattern (though reduced in scale) of Lealui and Nalolo.¹⁸ To head the new administration, he appointed in 1886 his nephew Kabuku, son of Mukwae Matauka, who held the post until his death from smallpox in 1893. To ensure that the Indunas were kept more closely involved with the work of the Kuta, he stipulated that each should maintain a permanent household at the capital.¹⁹ In November 1888, Louis Jalla, one of the missionaries resident there, commented on the reformed Sesheke:

The native Sesheke of today is very different from that of a year ago. Then, the village consisted of about fifty huts only, and they were most often without occupants. But since Sitala

¹⁶ F. Coillard, 'The War Expedition', 26 January 1888, *Zambeze File*, Paris. Sikabenga wrote to Westbeech while on this raid communicating his intentions. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p.99.

¹⁷ Coillard to 'Christian Friends and Helpers', Sefula, 6 April 1891; C.O. 5/2/1 (N.A.R.). Coillard was still writing about the unreformed Sesheke in 1891. However, missionaries resident at Sesheke noticed the changes much earlier, e.g., note 20 following. Similarly the missionary Arnot in 1882 found that he could not go to the Tonga country without permission from Lubosi. He had to argue his case before Sesheke Indunas and finally with the aid of Westbeech was allowed into the valley to put his case before Lubosi. F. S. Arnot, *From Natal to the Upper Zambezi: first year among the Barotse*, Glasgow 1883, p.57.

¹⁸ Induna Lyashimba Imbula Mashekwa.

¹⁹ Almost all the Indunas being polygamous.

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(Murantsiane?) has got hold of a large part of the chiefs' cattle without striking a blow, the king has ordered them to leave Sesheke no more, as before, to return to their own villages. So each of the fifty chiefs of Sesheke leaves at least one of his wives here so that he can always find food here. Today the village has no less than six hundred huts.²⁰

Although Kabuku was only a boy of about eighteen or twenty years when he was installed at Sesheke in August 1886, the new administration soon made itself felt. Coillard believed that the main spur for the reforms at Sesheke had been the Lozi desire to guard against the growing external threats, especially from the Matebele and from the white men pressing up from the south. Undoubtedly, this remained one of the main duties of the Sesheke administration, as it had been previously. European travellers and traders had invariably been held up by the Sesheke Indunas who refused to permit them to cross the river until the king had been notified and his express permission obtained.²¹

There were clearly other reasons for the reforms. Lewanika was patently concerned with his own internal position and the relation of the Sesheke administration to Lozi kingship. In particular, it was vital to bring the Tonga factions and rebellious Indunas at Sesheke under the control of the central authority. Appointment to the position of chief at Sesheke was kept firmly under the direct control of Lewanika, who chose his closest relatives for the post. After Kabuku's death in 1893, the chieftaincy at Sesheke was divided between Lewanika's own son Litia, who set up a capital at Kazungula, and Akanangisa Atangambuyu, a daughter of Mukwae Matauka, and a sister to Kabuku. On the other hand, from the time of Kabuku's appointment there had been a noticeable difference in the bearing of the Sesheke Indunas. Coillard observed that:

The old chiefs, our former friends, are as vile and cringing before the young beardless prince as they were haughty. They seem to us like high functionaries who are now disgraced and degraded, but

²⁰ L. Jalla, *Mission du Zambeze: la vie à Sesheke*, Paris 1888.

²¹ Makumba, a Subiya chief, would not receive Dr. Emil Holub until an answer had been received from Sipopa. He would not accept any presents from Holub to himself till Sipopa's answer came. E. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, Sampson Low 1881.

Even during the disturbed times of 1875, Captain Norman MacLeod testified to the fact: 'As no one can cross the river ever without the king's permission,' he and his party had to wait five weeks for the permission to cross. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 109.

who cannot as yet be dispensed with....²²

Even so, in 1889 and 1890, when Lewanika granted concessions to Harry Ware and Frank Lochner, a representative of the British South Africa Company, Sesheke was to offer the most powerful opposition that Lewanika encountered.²³

Similar administrative reforms aimed at guarding Bulozi against foreign invasion and primarily at strengthening the central kingship were carried out in the outlying provinces of Mashi and Kalabo. In Mashi, at Kaunga, Lewanika placed his nephew Litianyana, a son of his brother Wamunungo, who had been killed in the 1884 rebellion.²⁴ In Kalabo, Lewanika installed at Libonda Kuta his younger sister, Mukwae Mboanjikana Akatoka.²⁵

The provincial Kutas of Sesheke, Kaunga and Libonda, were all directly, and closely linked to the king and the central Kuta at Lealui. They were each organised as exact, if miniature, replicas of the Lealui and Nalolo courts. Appointment to the Indunaship of the provincial Kutas came under the direct control of Lewanika, as did the appointment to chieftainships. In this way Lewanika's position was strengthened not only in the provinces, but also at Lealui, since for all matters of policy all the subordinate Kutas had to be consulted. Lewanika now dealt with a wider political arena than previously, when he had only the Nalolo and Lealui Indunas to contend with, but it made possible the technique of balancing one set of Indunas against the other. Such was the case in February 1897 when, on trying to resist Lewanika's demands for labour, the Lealui Indunas found themselves reprimanded by Indunas from Nalolo, Sesheke and Kazungula.²⁶

Another result of his administrative reforms was to diminish the potential threat from the immigrant Mbunda and surviving Makololo communities. By setting up administrative centres in outer provinces based on a pattern identical to that at Lealui, Lewanika ensured that the other factions, the Mbunda and Makololo, would have no pockets in the country where they could

²² F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 237.

²³ See my Chapter 8.

²⁴ Induna Mooto Mutukwa; Nalolo Kuta.

²⁵ Libonda chieftaincy did not have British recognition until 1906 following the settlement of the western boundary between Portuguese and English spheres. According to the *modus vivendi*, Libonda had fallen under the Portuguese sphere.

²⁶ A. and E. Jalla, *Pionniers Parmi les Ma-Rotse*, Florence 1903, p. 206.

establish themselves and hence undermine the traditional Lozi structure.

Closely linked with Lewanika's administrative reforms was his land settlement policy. Lewanika introduced a measure which came to be known as the *Muliu* or redemption law, whose purpose was to restore the pre-Makololo position as far as possible. All landholders were required to resume lands occupied by their ancestors prior to the arrival of the Makololo.²⁷ Later settlers were to be given land on a permanent title by the king and Kuta. Although the *Muliu* was partly political in purpose, it was also prompted by the realisation that the territorial and regional administrative reforms could only be effective with a stable settled population. The damage done in this respect by the disturbances of the previous four decades had to be repaired.

The *Muliu* inevitably brought its own problems since some of the people were now asked to give up land they had occupied for twenty to fifty years since the coming of the Makololo, or from 1864 after their overthrow. The law also, in many cases, led to fresh insecurity of tenure because of the difficulty of obtaining absolute proof of ancestral occupation. However, *Muliu* was aimed at rationalising the pattern of land settlement, and upon it followed the revival of the old territorial division into administrative units - the *Lilalo*, which was later adopted by the British administration.

In addition to purely administrative measures, Lewanika carried out a series of reforms aimed at reviving pre-Makololo Lozi institutions. One purpose was to elevate the royal family, and particularly the king, above the control of Indunas, some of whom, during the period between 1864 and 1885, had shown themselves capable of making and unmaking kings. Lewanika was determined to be king after the fashion of his ancestors.

Shortly after the restoration in 1885, Lewanika is said to have held consultations with his supporters, enquiring: 'Now that you have brought me back, shall we have Makololo rule or Barotse rule?'²⁸

It could be argued that from the time that Njekwa refused to accept the kingship because he was not of the royal blood, the Lozi had in principle chosen the old traditional state structure. In

²⁷ Mongu District Note Book, ii; K.D.E. 10/1 (N.A.Z.). The *Muliu* lasted until 1928 when it was repealed by Yeta III.

²⁸ William Waddell, WA/1/1, ii, (N.A.R.). Mulena Mukwae Nakatindi, Mwandu Kuta, Sesheke district.

practice, however, we have seen that this was far from the case. When Lewanika began taking practical steps to revive the old structure, he had to surmount sizable opposition. Lewanika's reversion to the old system sprang from no mere love of tradition in itself, but rather because tradition alone offered him security both as a man and king. It exalted him high above other Lozi notables and placed him at the top of the whole administrative, economic and social structure.

In the economic sphere, Lewanika was equally desirous of reviving the old system, partly for the political advantages this gave. He sought to achieve his purposes through the tribute system, the free labour system and a monopoly control over external trade.

Tribute had always played a vital part in the Lozi economy, supplementing the trade relationships with the surrounding forest peoples, who produced special products which could not be produced in the environment of the valley. The tribute system had been maintained in varying forms by the Makololo, Sipopa and Mwanawina. Coillard described its operation in January 1887:

Just now, one sees in every direction long strings of people laden with burdens... it is the king's tribute: honey, pelts, wild fruits, fishing tackle, mats, etc. - the produce of the fields, of the chase, and of industry.... The whole, brought to the court with great ceremony, is divided among the chiefs of the nation.²⁹

And again in 1895 an observer noted the continuation of the tribute system:

Certain tribes must annually send the king a fixed impost of canoes, building wood, cattle, grain, milk, wild honey, fish, game, skins, iron spearheads, etc....³⁰

The distribution of tribute through the king to the nation, that is by the king to Indunas and various groups, and by Indunas to their followers and dependants, seems to have been a much more formalised and institutionalised process under Lewanika than under Sipopa. Under Sipopa the distribution seems unsystematic, taking much more the form of personal presents from the king to people nearest to him, and chance favourites. The same seems to have been the case with the distribution of foreign merchandise.

²⁹ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 271.

³⁰ A. Bertrand, *The Kingdom of the Barotse*, London 1898, p. 275.

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The king is the chief merchant and from time to time he makes large purchases of goods to the amount of £3,000 to £5,000 which he gives away to the people who reside near him or to the chiefs or subjects who may happen to visit him, always stipulating that any guns that may be distributed shall be considered not given but lent.³¹

Although Lewanika continued to give direct presents to individual Indunas and others, these came from his private stock. He reserved an important portion for systematic distribution according to rank and office:

The whole [tribute], brought to the lekhothla with great ceremony, is divided among the chiefs of the nation. (The king's own portion is carried at night to his establishment: nobody but the confidential officer in charge must see it.) This gives Lewanika plenty of occupation and preoccupation, for he has to deal tactfully with jealousies and rivalries, as well as with the rapacity of those persons who make and unmake kings, according to their own caprices.³²

The distribution of goods at the Kuta followed a pattern based on tradition. The first portion went to the king, then to the representatives of Ngombala, Mboo and Ngalama. Ngombala, Mboo and Ngalama were traditionally regarded as the 'owners of the tribute', for they conquered most of the tribute-paying tribes. When the representatives of these ancestors had been satisfied, then the Ngambela got his share, followed by Indunas, according to their order of rank.³³

Non-Lozi groups also were given commodities which were not available in their areas. Lewanika gave cattle, cloth, guns, milk, etc., to representatives of other tribes when they brought tribute to the capital.

In addition to indigenous products, he came to be the principal source of European goods because of his monopoly of foreign trade, not only with the Europeans but also the Mambari and Arabs. In 1888, Coillard recorded:

³¹ E. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, p. 160.

³² F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 271.

³³ M. Gluckman, *Essays on Lozi Land and Royal Property*, R. L. Papers, no. 10, 1943. It is not clear whether the same and exact procedure was followed by the Luyana in distributing tribute before the Makololo.

In exchange for ivory, Lewanika had bought up the whole stock of merchandise brought him just now by Mr. Westbeeck on the one hand, and on the other by the caravan of a Portuguese merchant from Bihé. Everybody, in varying degrees, had a share in the royal largesse; and were it but a remnant of an elbow's length, he must stick it on somehow. So one sees nothing but new *setsibas*- [loin skirts] and tinsels of every colour.³⁴

The king himself as the national benefactor and also in keeping with his status was the richest man in the State. Ordinary people were forbidden to accumulate as much wealth as the king or to build themselves houses that would rival his. To safeguard the superiority in wealth of the king and the royal family, certain goods and products were reserved to them as exclusive monopolies - *Za Silena*. These included lion and leopard skins, certain parts of animals including hippo, one tusk of each elephant killed and eland tails. Such articles were reported and brought to the king whenever obtained. In addition to these monopolies, the king could demand free labour for personal as well as national projects.

In all these various ways, the personal position of the kingship was gradually built up. Coillard, who observed the process, commented in 1895:

Royal pretensions grow greater from day to day, and in a startling manner. Ceremonial grows more and more complicated.... Recently at the lekhothla, for three days they discussed the question of stools, and of certain ivory and bead ornaments which the people have had since Sipopa's death... Lewanika confiscated and forbade them, except for the use of the royal family.³⁵

In answer to Coillard's criticisms of these new measures Lewanika explained: 'In ancient times it was the distinctive and exclusive privilege of kings; why should it disappear today?'³⁶

Similarly at the Kuta the procedure and etiquette of 'ancient times' was revived and strict measures were taken to see that these were observed. The Indunas were not only deprived of their stools and made to sit on the mats, but they were also required to sit according to rank and office as was the custom before the Makololo. Access to the person of the king and his *Kwandu* (Palace) became

³⁴ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 301.

³⁵ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, 1899, p. 268.

³⁶ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 371.

more restricted and controlled. Lewanika created *bo Imilema* (police force) in 1897 with the duties of regulating entry to the royal enclosure (*Lapa*). Jalla tells of the incident when he was stopped by one of the 'policemen' armed with a whip and a spear and was prevented from going to see the king. The policeman told Jalla firmly: 'No one comes in without being summoned.'³⁷ It was only after the king had intervened on the missionary's behalf that Jalla finally obtained access to Lewanika.

In no sense, however, did Lewanika achieve a position of despotic authority. He successfully built round himself a strong following of loyal and staunch supporters, but they were far from being his creatures. It was soon apparent that their support remained conditional on a fundamental agreement over the main lines of policy and on the maintenance of their own positions and influence. For instance, among the chief supporters of Lewanika's reforms were the Ngambela Mwauluka and Induna Nalubutu, an old man whose experience of the Lozi structure of government dated back to the period before the Makololo. Both of these men came to differ strongly with Lewanika over the issue of missionaries and British protection, which they saw as posing a powerful threat to the traditional structure, and also lessening Lewanika's dependence on them. Mwauluka went as far as to declare openly that the Indunas would depose Lewanika were he ever to be converted to Christianity.³⁸ Although Lewanika owed a great deal to these men who fought and won the 1885 war for him, he naturally sought to avoid excessive dependence on them. The ritual and ceremonial elevation of the monarchy helped 'put them in their place', but that was not enough.

To strengthen the royal position against the Indunas (Makwam-buyu), Lewanika increased the number of seats that were occupied by members of the royal family in the Kuta; Linabi (princes) had been represented in the Kuta before, but under Lewanika their representation was greatly increased. According to Professor Gluckman, there were four or five princes in the Kuta on Lewanika's succession, but by 1940 there were ten princes in the Sikalo alone.³⁹

In addition to increasing the number of 'Linabi' representatives

³⁷ A. and E. Jalla, *Pionniers*, pp. 195ff.

³⁸ *News from Barotseland*, no. 5, August 1899.

³⁹ M. Gluckman, *Administrative Organisation of the Barotse Authorities with a Plan for Reforming Them*, R.L.I. Communication No. 1; R.L.I. Livingstone, N.R. 1943, pp. 56-7.

in the Kuta, Lewanika introduced a new group of representatives in the form of bo Ishee (prince consorts). Bo Ishee were given seats in the Kuta as representatives of the princesses (Makwae) and helped to swell the ranks of the royal family against those of the Indunas.⁴⁰

In line with these measures were Lewanika's military reforms. Under the Makololo, the old Lozi institution of the Makolo was disrupted, the Makololo military organisation relying on age set regiments. During the twenty years after the Lozi return to power, the names of Makolo reappear now and then in the course of various campaigns, but the Makolo had ceased to be the centralised institution it had been in the pre-Makololo period. The rebel Indunas organised their military groups on the Makolo pattern and even called them by the same names as the central government Makolo. Hence, during the 1885 restoration fighting, there appear to have been two separately organised Makolo sets. Jalla speaks of Lewanika's Njeminwa Likolo meeting Mataa's Kabeti Likolo in combat, while Numwa led the Njeminwa Likolo against the Kabeti Likolo of Lewanika led by Silumbu.⁴¹ The decentralisation of the Lozi military structure was clearly caused by the weakness of the central kingship and the rise of overpowerful and ambitious Indunas. As might be expected, therefore, Lewanika, after 1885, set himself to restore the old military system and re-establish full control from the centre.

Although it had been a recognised Lozi tradition for each Lozi ruler to create a new Likolo during his reign, neither Sipopa nor Mwanawina II had done so. This reflects not only Lozi disorganisation, but also the continued influence of the Makololo military system during this period, despite the survival of groups which were known by the old Makolo names. Lewanika not only set out to reorganise the old Makolo, but he revived ancient tradition by creating a Likolo for his own reign. The new Likolo was Mooka⁴² which Lewanika placed under the leadership of Solami, a personal friend and a staunch supporter of his revival policies. But again the revival of tradition was clearly designed to strengthen his position further against the Indunas who were heads of Makolo and hence in direct control of the country's fighting men. For the first time, the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, pp. 64-5.

⁴² Barotse Form of Government; Section 8, p. 4, K.D.E. 2/44/18 (N.A.Z.). M. Gluckman, *Administrative Organisation of the Barotse Authorities*, R.L.I. Communication, 1943, no. 1, p. 54.

Likombwa, the personal supporters and stewards of the king, were given leadership in Makolo. Traditionally, the Likombwa belonged to the royal Likolo, that is, the Likolo to which the king belonged. However, Lewanika gave to a number of his Likombwa leadership of sub-sections of the Makolo, as follows:⁴³

Ingangwana (L1) given the leadership of *Matobohwa a Matelele* in *Mooka*.

Imasikwana (L2) leader of *Imutiko*, a section of *Njeminwa*.

Imuwana (L3) *Matobohwa*, a *Makuswani* sub-section of *Mooka*.

Mubonda (L4) *Matonokwa* of *Njeminwa*.

Awami (L7) *Macelafasi*, a *Matelele* of *Njeminwa*.

Significantly, out of six Makolo sub-divisions mentioned above four were of *Njeminwa*. *Njeminwa* was under the command of *Kalonga* who, it will be recalled, had joined the rebels in 1885, though later changing sides. After 1885, *Kalonga* became the centre of fresh opposition to *Lewanika*, rallying anti-missionary and anti-British Protectorate opinions. Was the introduction of sub-sections in *Njeminwa* led by *Likombwa* aimed at neutralising *Kalonga's* power and influence? Most of the members of *Njeminwa* came from *Kalonga's* home area in north-west Bulozhi, in *Lukona* and *Libonda*, where *Lewanika* had little support. The placing of sections of *Njeminwa* under *Likombwa* meant that *Lewanika* now had stewards, fully committed to his policies, in control of large sections of *Lukona* and *Libonda*.

As *Lewanika* established stable administration in the country and enhanced his position in the *Kuta* and in the provinces, a definite pattern of government akin to the traditional *Lozi* structure began to emerge. This was particularly true with regard to the kingship. It was clear by 1894 that *Lewanika* had largely succeeded in restoring the old concept of *Lozi* kingship, and winning for himself the honour and reverence associated with it. Of *Lewanika* himself *Jalla* wrote that: '*Lewanika* had a high idea of his dignity - he was proud and selfish.'⁴⁴ Another observer some years later wrote: 'He looked a chief; whether clothed in a "setsiba" or lounge-suit, or his very striking and handsome uniform, his dignity and carriage impressed the observer.'⁴⁵

⁴³ M. Gluckman, *Administrative Organisation of the Barotse Authorities*, Mongu District Note Book i, p. 56.

⁴⁴ A. Jalla, *Lewanika, Roi des Barotsi Nouvelles du Zambeze*, Supplement au No.2 Juin 1902, p. 12.

⁴⁵ Campbell, 'Barotse Reminiscences', *R. C. Note Book*, ii, April 1913.

Under Lewanika, the tradition of divine kingship again came to the fore. As early as 1888 Coillard referred to Lewanika as 'personification of the Divine Right'.⁴⁶ One of the Indunas in December 1894 explained to Jalla the basis of Lewanika's authority and honour, saying:

Our king is the son of the divinity, a god himself. This is the reason behind all the honour paid to him. This is the reason people lower themselves before him and before all that belongs to him.⁴⁷

Lewanika revived the institution of the royal graves and formed a particularly strong alliance with the royal grave keepers 'Linomboti'.⁴⁸ He chose Ngalama, who was buried in Kwandu, for his special protector, and his seventeen wives were assigned as priestesses to the various tombs.⁴⁹ Here was one of the weightiest reasons why Lewanika and his successors, despite their attraction to the missionaries and Christian teaching, could never give up polygamy. Lewanika's refusal to give up polygamy drove Jalla almost to despair by 1899:

He had decided, in spite of missionaries' opposition, to have built rectangular houses for his wives, beginning with the four most important. This was a profession of paganism, a way of saying he was a long way off being converted, open defiance of Christianity.⁵⁰

Coillard, on the other hand, remained hopeful up to his death in 1904 that Lewanika might do away with his 'harem', and in his will left 'My bedstead to the king when he becomes monogamist, not to be sold to him under other conditions.'⁵¹ To this day, the bed stands unused at Mabumbu Mission Station. Lewanika's obstinacy was based on a shrewd sense that to give up polygamy would be to give up the religious and political structure he had worked so hard to

⁴⁶ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 329.

⁴⁷ A. Jalla, *Lewanika, Roi des Barotsi*.

⁴⁸ Mrs. L. Zaza. Note: The first meeting between Lewanika and the pioneer missionary Coillard occurred while Lewanika was on a tour of the royal graves. Lewanika refused to see Coillard until the missionary gave a piece of white cloth to be offered to the ancestor spirits. See F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 216.

⁴⁹ A. Jalla, *Lewanika, Roi des Barotsi*, p. 12. The Moyo for Kwandu of Ngalama, Mukena for Lilundu of Mulambwa, Matondo for Ngombala. Mutumweno Yeta, 'The Kuomboka', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, iv, 1961.

⁵⁰ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, pp. 284-5.

⁵¹ Lettres F. Coillard. Son Testament; Condoleances (Sefula Mission).

re-establish.

The revival of old beliefs received a corresponding effort to educate the people in old customs, traditions and dances. Coillard recalled seeing Mukwae Matauka of Nalolo at work:

I saw her one day... assemble all the women and girls of the harem (at Lealui) and teach them, for a whole day, the old songs and dances, now forgotten.⁵²

But the revival of Lozi tradition also required the suppression of alien importations, particularly the traditions of the Mbunda and Makololo. At first, Lewanika found the Mbunda practice of witchcraft, and particularly divination, a handy political weapon to rid himself of suspected rivals. Adolphe Jalla, on his arrival in Bulozhi in September 1889, commented on the extent to which witchcraft was being employed: 'Accusations of witchcraft were the order of the day. It was the surest way to dispose of those of whom one was jealous, or whom one hated.'⁵³ Jalla also reported that Lewanika had boasted to him saying: 'The divinatory bones (litaula) point out who I want.'⁵⁴

Lewanika, however, soon discovered that the same weapon could be as effectively used against him. In February 1887 diviners struck one among the circle of the king's trusted and favourite friends, and Lewanika found himself absolutely helpless and unable to save him. Coillard recorded:

A witch hunt took place, and Moeyanyana (Mwiyanyana?), a young man, friendly and intelligent and greatly liked by the king, was accused: all made their way to the lekhothla, a pot was put on the fire... the effects were obvious. Moeyanyana was therefore a sorcerer... he spent the night bound to the stake. The next day the scaffold was raised, the fire lit, the moati (mwati) prepared and administered, and the unfortunate chief was soon struggling with death amidst insults and curses....⁵⁵

A few months later in May, Lewanika was presented with clear evidence of attempts to get rid of him through witchcraft. He returned from a hunt to find the floor of his house 'sprinkled with

⁵² F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, p. 560.

⁵³ A. Jalla, *Lewanika, Roi des Barotsi*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Coillard also cites similar incidents. *On the Threshold*, p. 319.

⁵⁵ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambeze*, pp. 296-7.

blood'.⁵⁶ Lewanika shut himself up and saw no one while panic seized the capital. 'Gambela and the other ministers and all the chiefs of the capital did not feel safe from suspicion.' Suspiciously enough, when Lewanika turned to the Litaula and their divinatory apparatus, they failed to detect the man responsible.

The climax and final confrontation came in December 1892 when Lewanika was made the victim of divinatory bones. Coillard received a desperate message from him:

Know [he said] that for three days the Mambundas, the initiated, the masters of the occult art, have been consulting the bones. This morning the leading chiefs, Gambella at their head, came to tell me of the oracle. Well, it is me myself whom the bones have seized and pointed out. They accused me of having brought the scourge of smallpox to the nation, and of stopping the rain from falling.⁵⁷

Coillard went to see the king the following day and found that matters had passed beyond Lewanika's control. The opposition Indunas were occupying the Kuta:

Inside, six or seven old Mambundas, squatting on furs, were convulsively shaking baskets full of everything imaginable-human bones, bones of I don't know what strange animals, fish bones, rare shells, scales, strange grain, animal hair, endless and indescribable charms, nothing was missing. These sages were absorbed in profound study of each combination, and were muttering cabalistic spells, while all around them, in a circle, their acolytes were making a terrific row with their rattles of gourds, wooden harmonicas, bells and tom toms. The public were crammed together like sardines, stretching out necks, open mouthed and gaping. And all this, on the orders of the main chiefs in the lekhothla, under the eyes of the king they accuse publicly of bringing misfortune to the nation!⁵⁸

At this stage, the Mbunda in the forefront of the opposition to Lewanika found even the Indunas of the king's administration were capable of being swayed owing to the crisis brought on by the granting of the Lochner Concession to the British South Africa Company in 1890.⁵⁹ The king was accused of having sold the country

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁵⁷ F. Coillard, *A Lealui: Lettres Ricentes de M. Coillard*, Paris, 1892, pp. 23, 24.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ See my Chapter 9, pp. 181-2.

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to a commercial company. Lewanika, after weathering the immediate crisis and making attempts to repudiate the Lochner Concession, from 1892 clamped down on the Mbunda and their occult system. The team of diviners who had been at the centre of the crisis were almost strangled to death and only released on the intervention of Coillard.

In February 1897 Lewanika arrested and broke up the instruments of two medicine men who were trying to raise opposition to his policy of negotiating with Europeans. After this Lewanika ruled that 'where witchcraft was concerned it was the accuser not the accused who was to be punished'.⁶⁰ Belief in witchcraft was to remain for a long time in Buluzi, but witchcraft accusation ceased to be part of the political and judicial system. Coillard took Lewanika's fight against witchcraft and divination as a sign of his approaching conversion!

In the same way Lewanika fought Kololo influences. In 1878 Coillard was much impressed by the extent of the Kololo impact on the Lozi, and concluded that the Lozi 'formed their ideals of dignity, manners and power of a sovereign' on education obtained from the Makololo: 'The same customs, manners, clothing, the same sociability, the same code of official politeness, etc.'⁶¹ By 1886, a marked change was already apparent. Coillard was struck by the difference, particularly at the Kuta: 'The lekhothla differs from that of the ba-Souto and the be-Tchouana. Freedom of discussion does not exist here: the King can say: "L'etat, c'est moi".'⁶² The contrast in Coillard's impressions may have been partly due to the fact that in 1878 he visited only Sesheke, formerly one of the main centres of Makololo influence.⁶³ But after his restoration, Lewanika himself openly declared his intention to combat Kololo influence.

In conclusion, when assessing Lewanika's achievements, it is clear that a complete restoration was no longer possible. The restored Lozi State had to accommodate new forces both within and outside Buluzi. None the less Lewanika succeeded in determining the basis for compromise.

⁶⁰ A. and E. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 207.

⁶¹ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambèze*, pp. 58, 59.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁶³ Some Lozi families in Sesheke still have Kololo names adopted during the period of the Makololo interregnum: Mulena Mukwae Nakatindi, Chief at Sesheke.

8 The extent of Lozi influence

Lewanika's domestic policy was inevitably bound up with external affairs and relationships with the neighbouring peoples outside the Plain. The special environment of the Plain and its peculiar economic characteristics made economic interdependence between the Lozi in the Plain and the neighbouring peoples in the forest area necessary. The need to control the sources of foreign produce, and to acquire regular supplies essential to the Lozi, and the need for slaves for labour, led to the Lozi conquest and raiding of their neighbours.

Lozi influence radiated outwards in varying forms and degrees, so that at any one time the history of Bulozhi is the history of the Plain and its hinterland. The Lozi conquered some areas and infiltrated others, setting up formal political control over them. Beyond these, they raided and traded.

Lewanika was compelled to find a similar solution to the economic and military problems of Bulozhi, which were highlighted by the demand for labour and produce to sustain the imposing and expensive governmental structure that he sought to revive. Those sections of the tribute and labour paying groups who still remained under undisputed Lozi control were reduced almost to a status of serfdom. The Nkoya in the north-east, and the Ma Subiya in the Sesheke District, and other subject groups who were too closely linked politically and geographically with the Lozi, were particularly affected. The Ma Subiya for instance found themselves charged increasingly with duties which included 'cultivating the great fields of excellent soil belonging to the king.... They are also charged with

transporting travellers' canoes above the rapids.'¹ All these duties were apparently done without any form of privilege or compensation in return. The cost of sustaining the grandeur of the revived Lozi State was beginning to affect even the Lozi themselves. Coillard talks of people being taken as work parties away 'from home for days and even weeks together'.² The missionary was worried and warned of 'the danger of revolution against forced labour.... One need be no wizard to foretell the fate of Lewanika's kingdom - a slave holding despotism pushed to its ultimate extreme cannot last.'³ The Lifunga institution originally for selecting the most promising candidates for the Lozi bureaucracy suddenly changed character and was used as a means for recruiting labour. The people's reaction to this was that of terror.⁴

While Coillard was sounding his warning to Lewanika, the Lozi king was indeed well aware of the basic problem. The outside groups had to pay the cost in order to prevent an economic and social crisis in Buluzi. In 1882 Lewanika carried out a highly successful raid against the Ila and the Batoka. The trader George Westbeech reported from Lealui that 'the king must have brought about 20,000 head of cattle taken in war to the Barotse Valley, exclusive of what have died along the road...'.⁵ In 1888, the Lozi carried out another very successful raid on the peoples of the present Southern Province of Zambia. The campaign lasted five months⁶ and the Lozi advanced as far as Chief Monze of the Tonga, then living near Chisekesi.⁷ Coillard reported ruefully of 'an immense quantity of cattle and slaves'⁸ brought back by the Lozi.

After 1888 there were no further reports of major Lozi raids on the

¹ Report by M. Lienard, October 1899, in *News from Barotseland* No. 8, April 1900.

² F. Coillard. *A Lealui: Lettres Recentes de M. Coillard*. Letter of 30 October 1892; Paris, 1892.

³ *News from Barotseland* No. 11, January 1901, p. 8.

⁴ Numba Luhamba. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, Hodder and Stoughton 1897, p. 424.

⁵ Westbeech to Arnot, Lealui, 5 October 1882, in F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze, or Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa*, James Hawkins, 1889, p. 62.

⁶ Coillard to Boegner, 5 August 1888. In *Journal des Missions*, 1889, No. 64.

⁷ Two months after the raid, Monze was visited by the hunter F. C. Selous, who commented on the chief's sad state at the loss of his cattle. F. C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*, Rowland Ward and Co. London 1893, pp. 211-12. Smith and Dale refer to the same raid by the Lozi and state that they advanced as far as Mapanza before they were checked. E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. Macmillan 1920, i, p. 44.

⁸ Coillard to Hunter, 23 August 1888. C.O. 5/2/1 (N.A.R.).

Ila, in fact, the 1888 raid is sometimes referred to as the final 'Barotse "razzia"' in that area.⁹ The reason for this appears to be given by the missionary Coillard, who in June 1889 reported that 'since the expedition of Lewanika, the Mashukulumbwe (Ila) have come in great numbers to make their submission and Lewanika has treated them well'.¹⁰ In June 1890 when Coillard recorded details concerning the limits or boundaries of the Lozi kingdom, he included the peoples of the present Southern Province to the Kafue River and even a few Ila chiefs on the north-eastern side of the Kafue.¹¹

The increase of Lozi political control over the Toka, Tonga and Ila peoples meant a steady source of slaves and tribute, particularly in the form of cattle which many groups there possessed in large numbers. The missionary Arthur Baldwin of the Primitive Methodists who was in Bulozi for two years from 1891 to 1893 recorded on several occasions the arrival of Ila parties in Bulozi to pay tribute and homage to the Lozi king.¹²

At this juncture, however, it should be pointed out that not all Ila and Tonga groups submitted themselves to Lewanika, neither did those who did, come at once after the 1888 raid. Their submission was spread over a period of time: Coillard reported great numbers of Ila coming to make their submission to Lewanika in June 1889, but as late as 1892 Baldwin still reported the arrival of a number of Ila chiefs 'to place themselves under Lewanika's power so that if he makes another raid, their cattle will be spared'.¹³ The submission was gradual and this may explain to some extent why Lewanika did not find an immediate solution to his need for labour and foreign produce. It could be similarly argued, however, that it was because Lewanika had some significant successes in his war campaigns, bringing in slaves and booty, and later, tribute, that the internal revolt against forced labour feared by Coillard did not occur.

Lewanika's external resources from his Ila, Toka and Tonga tribute-paying groups were boosted by the successful intervention of the Lozi in the war between the Lunda of Shinde and the Luvale in

⁹ E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples*, p. 44.

¹⁰ Coillard to Boegner, Sefula, 20 June 1889, in *Coillard Correspondence File 1889*, Paris.

¹¹ F. Coillard, *The Frontiers of the Barotse Kingdom*, as defined in a Council by the King Lewanika, his Councillors and principal Headmen of the Nation, held at Lealui, 26 June 1890. File C.T. 1/4/1 (N.A.R.).

¹² *The Journal of Arthur Baldwin*, 8 July 1892, Methodist Archives, London.

¹³ *The Journal of Arthur Baldwin*, 11 March 1892.

1892. In July 1892 Coillard reported the successful return of the expedition against the Luvala 'bringing hundreds of women and children as booty...'.¹⁴ Following this success, groups of both the Lunda and the Luvala began paying tribute to Lewanika.¹⁵ In the north-east, Lewanika extended Lozi influence beyond the Nkoya to the Kaonde. This was partly a result of a policy to stop Kaonde parties who were raiding the Nkoya (particularly the Mashasha group) who were subjects of the Lozi,¹⁶ and partly a result of Lewanika's intervention in quarrels among Kaonde chiefs. At the onset of colonial rule at least three Kaonde chiefs, Mushima, Katatola and Kasempa admitted that they had been under Lozi influence.¹⁷ In addition to all this, Lewanika was prepared to swear in an affidavit in 1903 that he received tribute regularly before and after 1891 from various Mbunda and Wiko groups in the west and north-west of Bulobi to the Kwito River.¹⁸

Lewanika's success in extending Lozi military and economic control to all these groups contrasts oddly with the picture drawn by some authorities of the grave dangers presented to the Lozi State at this time by external enemies. The analysis presented above of the successful extension of Lozi power demonstrates in fact that in the end neither of Lewanika's external enemies, the people of Lukwakwa or the Matebele, were a permanent threat to the Lozi State. Lewanika himself solved the Lukwakwa problem, while the Matebele threat was brought to an end by the defeat of the Matebele in 1893 by the troops of the British South Africa Company.

It is necessary none the less to show what policy Lewanika adopted towards these two groups before they ceased as threats to the Lozi State. The approach used by Lewanika in dealing with Lukwakwa and the Matebele was different because the two groups

¹⁴ Coillard to Smith, Sefula, 28 July 1892. C.O. 5/1/1/1, iii. Folio 1087 (N.A.R.).

¹⁵ Note how in 1899 Gibbons observed that at that time the Lunda and their neighbours the Kaonde 'provide Lewanika with his main supply of ivory' through tribute. A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Barotseland*, i, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1904, p. 146.

¹⁶ Mwene Kahare Timuna stated that his people, the Mashasha Nkoya, were forced to move from the Lufupa region by the Kaonde before Lewanika's time. Later, however, the Kahare kingship was recognised and strengthened by Lewanika who in addition to this gave Mwene Kahare cattle to look after.

¹⁷ Accounts of Lozi influence over the Kaonde were given by Chief Kasempa to E. A. Copeman, Acting District Commissioner Kasempa. 1906. See: Copeman to the Secretary for Native Affairs. Kalomo, 25 May 1906, IN/1/9 (N.A.Z.).

¹⁸ Copy of affidavit by Lewanika as to genealogy of kings of Barotseland June 1903. Before Justice of Peace, F. Aitken. K.D.E. 2/44/14 (N.A.Z.).

posed two different types of threat to the Lozi State. The Lukwakwa group aimed, at least initially, at taking over control of the Lozi State, a fact shown by the willingness of leaders from Lukwakwa to lead rebellious groups in and from Bulozi as was the case in the 1884-5 rebellion. The Matebele on the other hand showed no intention of taking over the Lozi State, their raids and demands for tribute being aimed at the cattle-owning groups of the Toka, Tonga and Ila in the present Southern Province of Zambia. The struggle between the Matebele and the Lozi during Lewanika's reign was primarily a struggle over raiding ground,¹⁹ Therefore, whereas Lewanika sought a direct confrontation with the Lukwakwa group and sought to crush their base on the Kabompo, in dealing with the Matebele, Lewanika's concern was merely to keep them out of the Southern Province. Lewanika aimed at Matebele raiding groups across the Zambezi rather than the State of the Matebele in present Rhodesia.

Towards the end of 1889, after Lewanika's return from exile, and once matters in the valley were sufficiently under control, he launched a campaign against Lukwakwa. It appears the force that went against Lukwakwa was so large and comprised such a large number of influential men and supporters of Lewanika, that all business of national importance was suspended to await their return.²⁰ Whatever ambitious plans the Lukwakwa group might have had left after this expedition must have suffered as a result of the subsequent successful intervention of Lewanika in the war between the Lunda and Luvala, their neighbours in the present North-Western Province of Zambia. In the end, Lukwakwa acknowledged Lozi suzerainty.²¹

The struggle against the Matebele proved more formidable. And to some of the Lozi, like the Induna who accompanied the party of the Primitive Methodists to the Ila country in 1893, the Matebele

¹⁹ It is significant that all rumours about Matebele invasion of Bulozi proved false. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, pp. 424, 527-8. The Matebele did, however, raid the Toka groups in the present Southern Province, a fact borne out by eye-witness accounts. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, pp. 527, 532.

²⁰ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 383. On this Coillard referred to the return of an 'army corps' from an expedition to 'Lekhoa-Khoa' Lukwakwa in May 1890. This then was the same expedition which delayed the discussion and signing of the Lochner Treaty, since Lewanika could not negotiate with Lochner while the war party was absent from the country. See: Lewanika to Lochner, May 1890 in C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.). Also Lochner to Harris, 23 April 1890 in C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.).

²¹ For Lukwakwa history see 'Synopsis of the History of Sikufele Dynasty', *Kabompo District Note Book*, pp. 169ff., K.T.V.I. (N.A.Z.). Also 'The History of Sinyama Sikufele', *Balovale District Note Book*, i, pp. 283ff., K.T.W.I. (N.A.Z.).

were 'not ordinary men, they were giants in strength, dextrous in fighting, and terribly brave'.²²

Many authorities, indeed from Coillard onwards, have suggested that the Matebele threat had brought about a collapse of Lozi authority in the south. Coillard reported that mere rumours of the Matebele approach could cause panic throughout Bulozhi,²³ and that the Makololo were so afraid of a confrontation with the Matebele that they even disobeyed orders to go south to check Matebele raiding parties in Batoka.²⁴ The most recent historian of the Lozi, Dr. Caplan, has argued on the basis of this sort of evidence and on examples of defiance of Lozi authority like that of the Toka chief, Simbulamukoa, who refused to pay tribute in 1897, that the Lozi empire had begun to crumble even before colonial rule.²⁵

In fact, it appears that rather the reverse was true. Lozi influence in the south was not only maintained but extended during Lewanika's reign. This was partly due to the need to extend control over the cattle and labour of the Batoka and Ila countries and partly to the very existence of the Matebele threat itself which made it important for Lewanika to strengthen his position in the south.

This process emerges clearly from the evidence. Even Coillard bears witness to the Lozi's continued raids in Batoka and Ila countries and later to their growing political and military control of the southern groups following the highly successful raid of 1888.²⁶

The growth of Lozi control over the Ila Tonga groups can also be demonstrated from sources other than those of the missionary Coillard. In 1886, in the year after Lewanika's return from exile and before his expansion policy got under way, the Czech traveller and doctor, Emil Holub, travelled from Pandamatenga across the Zambezi through Batoka to the Kafue River among the Ila. Holub travelled across the Zambezi and through Batoka on Lewanika's permission and obtained porters from Batoka chiefs resident between the Falls and Senkobo (near Kalomo) through Lewanika's instructions to those chiefs.²⁷

²² *The Journal of Arthur Baldwin*, 1 August 1893.

²³ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, pp. 367, 424, 527.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

²⁵ G. L. Caplan, *A Political History of Barotseland, 1878-1965*, thesis for Ph.D., London University 1968, p. 196.

²⁶ See Chapter 8, notes 8 and 10.

²⁷ E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt ins Land der Maschukulumbe, Reisen im Südlichen Afrika in den*
(Footnote 27 continued on next page)

Holub gives a good picture of the nature and the limitations of Lewanika's control over the Ila/Tonga groups in the early 1880s. He states that there were no actual Lozi representative Indunas living among these groups at this time, the last representative Induna posts being at Sesheke and Mambova.²⁸ The Lozi Indunas at Sesheke and Mambova were charged with duties which included the supervision of the south-eastern limits of the empire. Lozi raiding parties had been through Batoka and raided the Ila on the other side in 1882. But Holub reveals that this Lozi raid into Ila country had not forced them into submission. Their reaction had rather been one of greater hostility towards the Lozi.²⁹

As for the Toka, some chiefs between the Falls and Senkobo were paying tribute to Lewanika in 1886, but tribute seems to have been the only expression of their subjection since there was no political interference in their administration. This 'independence', however, was conditional not only on regular payment of tribute but also on carrying out specific orders from the Lozi king whenever such came. Holub reports having trouble with porters at chief Siakasipa's at Senkobo and that a reminder and a threat that 'Lewanika would have the porters killed as punishment'³⁰ had the desired effect. Holub was also struck by the extent to which people of southern Batoka, which comprised the main Toka population, had been culturally influenced by the Lozi and contrasted them with the small independent groups of Toka in the north.³¹

In all, Holub's picture is one of the loosest sort of Lozi political control. The raid of 1888 seems to have brought about important changes in this situation. After it, the hostile Ila gradually submitted to the Lozi, a process witnessed by Coillard, as already seen, and also by Arthur Baldwin of the Primitive Methodists.³² Contrary to the picture that the Lozi were frightened to venture south to check Matebele raiding parties among the Batoka and Ila, the Lozi seem to have realised that they were in a position of strength after the 1888 raid. As groups of Ila came in to make their submission, Lewanika sought ways to strengthen his control among the Ila Tonga groups as

Jahren 1883-1887, ii, Alfred Holder, Wien 1890, pp. 91, 119.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³² See my Chapter 8, notes 12 and 13.

well as to keep the Matebele out. Arthur Baldwin reported Lozi plans to plant Lozi villages among the Ila.³³ At least two Lozi parties set out to investigate the Ila situation at the same time that Baldwin's party left Bulobi to found a mission among the Ila in 1893. The aim of these Lozi parties was 'to ascertain if the Mashukulumbwe are willing to have Barotse living in their midst'. The Lozi parties certainly did not depend upon missionary protection to penetrate Ila country; they advanced faster than the missionaries and moved in different directions.

This process of extending Lozi political control was not, of course, uniformly easy or successful. Baldwin recorded on 26 June 1893 the return of the Lozi Induna, Nalishua, from southern Batoka where he had been sent 'to assert Lewanika's authority' and to found a village on the banks of the Zambezi to prevent Matebele from crossing. The Batoka would not receive Nalishua nor acknowledge Lewanika's authority but fled across the river.³⁴ Another unsuccessful Lozi mission returned in July 1893 after attempts to found a village among the Ila near Mosanana and Musungus.³⁵ However, there were also successful missions. Baldwin recorded on 20 December 1893 meeting two Lozi groups who had succeeded in gaining approval of a Lozi settlement from a chief ten walking days beyond the Kafue.³⁶ Baldwin also makes references to Lozi villages already founded among the Batoka. On 28 November 1893, for instance, he referred to a group of Lozi sent by Lewanika to found a village in Batoka.³⁷ It would certainly be poor logic and poor history to take the examples of Lozi failures in this extension process as indications of a collapse of influence.

In fact, Lozi political and military control over the Ila and Tonga groups was increasing steadily during the late 1880s and 1890s despite - and even to some extent because of - the Matebele challenge. Holub recorded in 1886 that the Matebele had taken possession of the strip east of the Bamangwatoland between the salt lakes and the Zambezi and were therefore quite close to the Lozi.³⁸ Arthur Baldwin recorded in 1893 that Lewanika wanted to

³³ *The Journal of Arthur Baldwin*, 4 December 1892.

³⁴ *Baldwin Journal*, 26 June 1893.

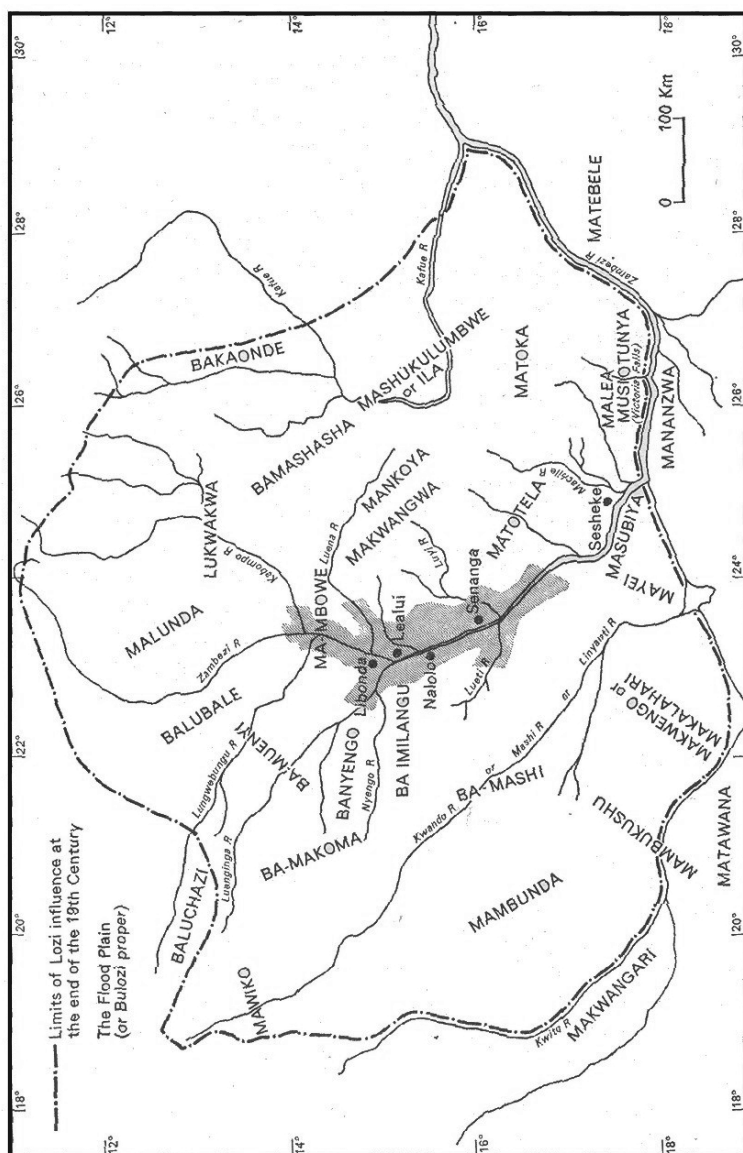
³⁵ *Baldwin Journal*, 9 July 1893.

³⁶ *Baldwin Journal*, 20 December 1893.

³⁷ *Baldwin Journal*, 28 November 1893.

³⁸ E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt*, p. 23.

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assert his authority on the southern border since the Matebele were across the river. Lewanika despatched an Induna to found a village at 'Pandamatenka' and to assert Lozi authority over the 'Hottentots'.³⁹ The mission did not materialise but this was not because of Matebele power. Local groups fled from the Lozi as they had fled from the Matebele in similar circumstances.⁴⁰ In fact, numbers of local groups were able to obtain guns and ammunition from white traders at 'Pandamatenka' and to maintain a precarious independence of both the Matebele and the Lozi.⁴¹

Available evidence on Matebele penetration of the Batoka and Ila areas brings out its different character. The Matebele never attempted to set up administrative institutions there or even to establish regular and continuous tribute collection. Their penetration of Batoka and Ila country took the form of a series of discontinuous raids mounted from afar. Two of these are recorded by Johan Willen Colenbrander, the B.S.A. Co's resident representative in Bulawayo from 1889 to 1893. In December 1892 he cabled: 'Large impi leaving in few days to punish three small tribes on either side of the Zambezi towards Barotse for treason.'⁴² Again on 19 June 1893 Colenbrander reported that an impi 'some thousands strong' was being sent 'to the Barotse'.⁴³ In actual fact this impi was going to Batoka where some eyewitness accounts of its ravaging were given by the missionary Louis Jalla, who visited Batoka soon after the raid.⁴⁴

The impi suffered a smallpox epidemic⁴⁵ and was recalled on Lobengula's orders because of the growing tension between the Matebele and the European settlers in Mashonaland.⁴⁶ This was the last raid the Matebele made north of the Zambezi, for they were defeated in the 1893 war with the Company forces.

³⁹ *Baldwin Journal*, 26 June 1893.

⁴⁰ E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt*, p. 6.

⁴¹ E. Holub, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴² Encl. in Cape Town to London; 21 December 1892, L.O. 5/2/26 (N.A.R.).

⁴³ Cape Town to Home Board, 21 June 1893, L.O. 5/2/26 (N.A.R.).

⁴⁴ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 532.

⁴⁵ Colenbrander to Dr Harris, 4 September 1893, L.O. 5/2/29.

⁴⁶ Report from Colenbrander in Cape Town to Home Board, 30 August 1893, L.O. 5/2/29 (N.A.R.).

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Two main conclusions can be drawn from this survey of Lozi Ndebele conflict and their struggle to control the raiding grounds in BaToka and Ila country. In the first place it seems that the Matebele threat to the Lozi has been highly exaggerated. It was exaggerated by the Lozi themselves in their correspondence with the British authorities; and it was exaggerated by the British as part of their propaganda campaign against the Matebele.

In the second place we can sum up the position of the Lozi in the south at the end of the nineteenth century. Not all of Lewanika's aims had been realised; not all of his missions or efforts to found villages had been successful; but the overall picture was very different from what it had been in 1886. It is plain that the evidence does not support the thesis that the Lozi empire had begun to crumble. Lozi influence was definitely on the increase rather than declining as shown by the various witnesses who recorded the broadening of Lozi control. At the end of the nineteenth century Lozi influence was at its broadest limits.

The first detailed written description of the boundaries of Bulozi was by the missionary, François Coillard, in June 1890, when Lewanika was signing a treaty with Frank Lochner, a representative of the British South Africa Company.⁴⁷ Coillard, claiming to define the boundary as described to him by the king and the Indunas, gave the general boundary lines as:

On the south, the Zambezi and the Chobe Rivers, on the west the 20th degree longitude east, on the north, the watershed of the Congo and the Zambezi rivers, on the east the Kafue river.⁴⁸

Then he went on to list the principal tribes under Lozi rule within this area:

The Mayeye (Mayei) along the Zambezi between that river and the Chobe;

Mashaiyo, living in the woods along the Zambezi;

Ba Mashi or Ba Karomo about the Chobe or Quando;

Mawiko (north-western Mbunda) among the tributaries of the Zambezi;

Manyango (Manyengo), also among the tributaries of the

⁴⁷ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, pp. 384-9.

⁴⁸ F. Coillard, *The Frontiers of the Barotse Kingdom*, as defined in a Council by the King Lewanika, his Councillors and principal Headmen of the Nation, held at Lealui, 26 June 1890, C.T. 1/4/1 (N.A.R.).

Zambezi;

Makoma and Ba Moenyio (Ba Muenyi) on the Loanginga River,
Baubale (Ba Lubale) or Ba Kakenge;
Ba Runda, Ba Lukoloe (Lukolwe) and Ba Kaonde on the Lunga;
Mankoea, very numerous on the Ruena River;
Liamba (Lamba?);
Mashikulomboe (Ila) on the Kafue River;
Matomoe (Matomwe) or Bawe between the Kafue and the

Zambezi;

Malea in the vicinity of the Victoria Falls;
Mananza (Mananzwa), Wanikie's people;
Mambundi (Mambunda) mixed with the Barotse;
Batoka, very numerous, north of the Zambezi River;
Ma Subia in the neighbourhood of Kasungula and along the

river;

Makuangoa (Makwangwa) near the valley;

Matotela, numerous, inland between Sesheke and Lealui on
the Ruyi, the Lumbi and the Njoko Rivers.⁴⁹

Coillard's colleague, Adolphe Jalla, was also present at the 1890
national gathering and later recalled:

There we had gathered from west and east the principal headmen
of the tribes, who all acknowledged Lewanika's power. They had
come from the banks of the Kwito, the Upper and Lower Kwandu,
the Lungwebungu, Luwoshi, the Kabompo, etc.⁵⁰

Jalla, however, recalled that the 'Baubale or Ba Kakenge' and
'Marunda' included by Coillard in the Lozi kingdom in 1890 were
not represented at the 'pitso' considering the Lochner Concession.
This, he explains, was because in 1890 'the Ma Lunda were
Lewanika's allies' ⁵¹ (and not ruled by the Lozi king as Coillard
stated). Jalla explained the situation about the Luvala in 1890: 'Most
of them refused to yield.' ⁵²

Jalla goes on to say, however, that in 1891 and 1892 both the 'Ma
Lunda' and the 'Ma Lubale' became subjects of the Lozi.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Jalla to the Administrator, 10 June 1903, Bulawayo, File: *Administration Britannique Kalomo Mongu*, 1908-33 (Sefula Mission Archives).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

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The Ma Lunda with Sinde their paramount chief, made their submission in 1891-1892; and the Ma Lubale were subdued by the Ma Rotsi in the first half of 1892, so that even Nyakatoro or Nanakandundu submitted.⁵³

The question whether the Luvale and the Lunda were subjects of the Lozi before 1891-2, and whether the 1892 Lozi campaign against the Luvale entitled the Lozi to claim complete suzerainty over the two groups remained a debateable point for nearly fifty years.⁵⁴

Forces of the European scramble had already reached Central Africa by the late 1880s. In November 1889 Dr R. Harris of the British South Africa Company explained Rhodes' motives in wanting to secure treaties in Bulozhi and the area towards Lake Nyasa and the Tanganyika plateau: 'The point was to obtain possession before foreign nations stepped in. . . .'⁵⁵

The Company was successful in securing a treaty in Bulozhi in 1890 as already seen.

On 11 June 1891, the British Government, under pressure from Rhodes and the Company, finally completed an agreement with Portugal which was advancing territorial claims from the present Angola into the Central African area covered by the Company agreements with local chiefs. Through Article IV of the 1891 Agreement, the whole of the Lozi kingdom was allotted to the British sphere of influence so as to cover Company interests and to check Portuguese claims.

Britain and Portugal, however, failed to reach agreement as to the boundary between western Bulozhi and eastern Angola in the Portuguese sphere. In June 1893 a *modus vivendi* was agreed whereby the boundary was temporarily set along the Zambezi and Kabompo Rivers. This was originally intended as a two-year measure only, but was prolonged in January 1896 to 1 July 1898, and was finally not settled until 1905 through the arbitration of the King of Italy.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *The Tribes of the Balovale District and the History of their Chieftaincies*. Manuscript by a District Officer, Balovale, 20 February 1936. (Based on Livingstone's Memoirs, Balovale District Note Book, the chiefs and seers of the tribes.) Livingstone Museum, Balovale, Barotse Dispute. General-1936. February-August. Historical survey. K.D.E. 2/3/1 (N.A.Z.). 1892 Lubale Campaign (1903) in *Barotse History*, Box 356 (N.A.Z.). C. M. N. White, *The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi*, African Studies 1962, xxi, no. 1. p. 22. Induna Kakwisanungu Mwanangombe, born 1895-1944: Induna Omei. 1949: Induna Kakwisanungu at Nalolo Kuta.

⁵⁵ Harris to Weatherly, 25 November 1889, L.O. 5/2/4 (N.A.R.).

There were constant protests and reminders from the British South Africa Company that the temporary boundary ran through the middle of Lewanika's kingdom. In 1896, in anticipation of the 1898 expiry of the *modus vivendi*, the Foreign Office despatched a Major Goold Adams to investigate the limits of the Lozi kingdom. Goold Adams sent back a detailed report of his findings.⁵⁶

He placed the boundaries of the Lozi kingdom as follows: in the west as far as the Chobe or Kwando River - and he stated that Lewanika claimed the area between the Kwando and Lungwebungu Rivers. In the east, he included the Mankoya, Kwangwa, Totela, Subiya and Toka, and mentions also Ba Mashasha, Kaonde, and Mashukulumbwe. In the north, Goold Adams picked on the watershed between the Zambezi and Congo Rivers.

Later he outlined what he considered to be the irreducible minimum of Lozi territory in the west and north as: The Chobe from its junction with the Zambezi to 1410 latitude south to Luchazi country and east to Cubangu River and up to its source and north to the Lungwebungu and down this to the village of Dioma, to the source of the Lumbala River, down to its junction with the Zambezi and up the Zambezi to the source.⁵⁷

Further reports followed that of Goold Adams. These reports included those by the expedition of Major A. St H. Gibbons and his party who came to Bulozhi in 1898.⁵⁸ The aims of their particular expedition were many and varied as was reflected in the number and different interests of their sponsors amongst whom were the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, the Director of Military Intelligence and the Directors of the British South Africa Company.⁵⁹ Their conclusions with regards to the extent of the Lozi kingdom were different from those of Goold Adams. They pushed the boundaries further in the west and north, to the Kwito River and the Kasai River respectively.

Later reports in 1901 by Major Colin Harding⁶⁰ and R. T.

⁵⁶ Goold Adams to F.O., 24 August 1897. F.O. Print 7010. No. 35. Report by Major Goold Adams. C.O. *African (South)*, 552, pp. 46ff.

⁵⁷ Goold Adams to F.O., 10 October 1897. F.O. Con. Print 7010. No. 54.

⁵⁸ A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland*, John Lane, The Bodley Head 1904.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, i, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Report by Colin Harding to C.O., 30 April 1901, in C.O. *African (South)*, 659.

Coryndon⁶¹ came to conclusions very similar to those of Major Gibbons and his party. Coryndon, who in 1897 had been the first resident representative of the British South Africa Company in Bulozhi, and who in 1901 was the Administrator for north-western Rhodesia, claimed that Lewanika had not told the full extent of his kingdom to Goold Adams. Coryndon's own recommendations were that the western boundary should run from the Kwito River to its junction with the Okavango, to the junction with Cuanavare, and up this to the source; the watershed dividing Kwanza on the west from the Lungwebungu in the east to the source of the Kasai River and down the Kasai to the Congo Free State border.

Coryndon gave other reasons for his recommendations besides consideration of the extent of the Lozi kingdom. One of these, he stated, was the need to retain the ridge between the sources of the Congo and the Zambezi, because it was the chief road between the coast and the interior.⁶²

In June 1903, Lewanika himself in an affidavit pointed out his boundary to the north as the Kasai River and the headwaters of the Zambezi, and included all the Luvala and Lunda countries, and in the west the Kwito River and the headwaters of the Lungwebungu River. He claimed the Mbunda country but excluded the Ba Chibokwe (Chokwe) area. In the south, he pointed to the Okavango River and the area north of the Magwe Kwani River. Lewanika went on to declare that Lozi representative Indunas in these areas and Indunas of the indigenous tribes there could give evidence in support of his claims, were a commission to be set up.⁶³

In 1903, Jalla was asked by the Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia to 'make a statement as to what. . . was the position of affairs on the right bank of the Zambezi and Kabompo Rivers before June 1891.'⁶⁴ Jalla could not give a detailed report, since he was on his way from leave and did not have any notes with him. He sent a map, however, which he had designed in 1902, in addition to the brief summary he gave. He testified that 'the limits of Lewanika's empire

⁶¹ Report by R. T. Coryndon to B.S.A. Co., 28 February 1901, *C.O. African (South)*, 659, No. 88.

⁶² Coryndon to C.O., 25 July 1901, *African (South)*, 659, No. 125.

⁶³ Affidavit by Lewanika as to the genealogy of Kings of Barotseland, 5 June 1903. Sworn before Justice of Peace, F. Aitken. K.D.E. 2/44/14 (N.A.Z.).

⁶⁴ Statement by Jalla, 10 June 1903. Bulawayo File *Administration Britannique Kalomo-Mongu 1908-1933* (Sefula Mission Archives).

as I marked them are those claimed by the king and Ma Rotse'.⁶⁵ Although for purposes of this study no map was found with his statement, the map published in his book of 1903 could not have been very different from the one designed in 1902, if indeed it was not the same.⁶⁶

Jalla gives the boundaries of the Lozi kingdom as: The Luvale and Lunda countries to the source of the Zambezi in the north; Kwito River to the Okavango in the west; the Chobe to its confluence with the Zambezi and along the Zambezi to the junction with the Kafue River in the south. These bear a close resemblance to the detailed descriptions of these areas in some of the earlier reports. Jalla makes an additional contribution, however, in demarcating the eastern limits of Bulozhi.

Information relating to the eastern boundary at the end of the nineteenth century contained in contemporary reports is general and limited. This was because in the east of Bulozhi, unlike in the west, there was no international boundary dispute and the whole area to the Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa plateau was within the British sphere of influence. Reference to the eastern boundary of Bulozhi was made initially by Coillard in 1890 for the purposes of the Lochner Treaty. Coillard gave the Kafue River as the eastern boundary, and included a few Ila chiefs on the eastern side of it in the Kafue Hook. Jalla, on the other hand, drew the eastern Lozi boundary along the Kafue River from its junction with the Zambezi to across the Hook only. After the Hook, Jalla fixed the Lozi boundary far to the west of the Kafue, but east of the Lunga River.

In 1964, the Northern Rhodesia nationalist government challenged the British South Africa Company's claims to mineral royalties in Northern Rhodesia.⁶⁷ The government set out to prove that Lewanika's territory in 1890 and after did not extend to the Copperbelt area, and therefore that the Company could not claim mineral royalties in that area on the basis of the Lochner Treaty and later agreements with Lewanika. The government conceded that the limits of Lewanika's kingdom extended to the Kafue River in the south in the Ila country, but stopped far short of the present

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ A. and E. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 318.

⁶⁷ *The British South Africa Company's claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia*, Government Printer, Lusaka 1964.

Copperbelt.⁶⁸ The government also pointed out that the Lamba tribe, who are the predominant indigenous group in the Copperbelt area, did not appear in any of the lists of tribes under Lewanika in his agreements with the Company.⁶⁹

Careful study of the formal or official reports on the limits of the Lozi kingdom reveals, as has been clearly indicated above, a lack of general agreement. The reports vary in detail and some of them have even been criticised for distortion and exaggeration of the extent of Lozi influence.⁷⁰

Reasons for possible distortion and exaggeration in the reports are not difficult to find.

First of all, with the exception of Lewanika's own affidavit, all the reports relating to the boundaries of the Lozi kingdom were written by outsiders whose knowledge of the people and areas they were writing about was limited. In defining the boundaries, for instance, no attempt was made to define the varying degrees of control the Lozi exercised over different groups. This varied from the successful assimilation of the groups nearest to Bulozi to annual raids on the more distant groups on the fringes of their kingdom. Thus, as one moved away from Bulozi 'proper', the control and indeed the presence of the Lozi decreased.

Some of the subject tribes were left to run their affairs without interference in their political and administrative systems, apart from Lozi Indunas living among them to organise the collection of the annual tribute and to act as 'ears' and 'eyes' of the Lozi king and his government. The representative Induna became politically involved only when he spotted or suspected that anything contrary to the Lozi interests was happening.

Clearly it would have been necessary to distinguish accurately between these differing forms of conquest or control before one could decide on what constituted the Lozi kingdom.

A second point to bear in mind is that almost all the surrounding peoples have lacked an effective and unifying central government structure similar to that of the Lozi. Whereas this decentralisation contributed to their military weakness, it also made control over

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 17.

⁶⁹ Coillard in 1890 included the 'Liamba': was this a corruption or a misspelling of the Lamba?

⁷⁰ C. M. N. White, for instance, criticises reports by Gibbons and Harding. Of Harding, White said that he 'reads like a salesman canvassing for Lewanika'. *Ethno History of the Upper Zambezi*, *African Studies*, xxi, 1, p. 23, 1962.

them by the Lozi more difficult. Some of the Tonga groups in the south-east for instance realised the advantages of decentralisation as a defensive measure so that they even split up villages.⁷¹

It is possible, therefore, that having conquered only one section of a tribe, the Lozi, for reasons of national pride, or the foreign investigators in their ignorance, included the tribe as a whole in the list of subject groups. The Lozi, for example, claim to have subjected the Luvale as a whole in 1892.⁷² C. M. N. White, however, putting forward the Luvale case, points out that the Lozi expedition made contact with the Luvale groups in Lumbala area only, and affected directly only chiefs Ndungu and Chiyazengombe. The Luvale groups west of the Zambezi and south of Chavuma Falls, according to White, as well as those north of Lumbala, avoided involvement in the war.⁷³

A third possible cause of distortion in the definition of Lozi boundaries lies in the interests of those who were defining them, particularly those of the British South Africa Company. The more the Company representatives claimed for Lewanika, the more they hoped the Company would gain through the Lochner Treaty and subsequent agreements. It is interesting to note how pressure from the Company led to the failure of ratification of the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 20 August 1890. When its details became known, the Company protested strongly and effectively: 'One half of our valid sphere of influence supremacy and mineral rights has been given away.'⁷⁴

Similarly, the missionaries, whose evidence was sometimes considered more authentic than even that of the Lozi,⁷⁵ had their own reasons for possible distortion. Some of these were religious.

⁷¹ E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt*, p. 88.

⁷² Induna Kakwisanungu Mwanangombe; born 1895. 1944: Induna Omei at Nalolo Kuta. 1949: Promoted to the title of Induna Kakwisanungu. Died July 1968. 1892, 'Lubale Campaign', *Barotse History*, Box 356 (N.A.Z.).

⁷³ C. M. N. White, 'The Ethno History of the Upper Zambezi', p. 22.

Note: The Luvale and the Lunda were initially included in Bulozhi under the Colonial administration. However, in the 1930s they challenged the Lozi claims of conquest over them which had been the basis of their inclusion in Bulozhi, and finally were excised from Bulozhi while the Lozi received some compensation in the form of money. 'Balovale-Barotse Dispute'. K.D.C. 2/3/1 (N.A.Z.).

⁷⁴ Harris to Weatherley, 22 September 1890. L.O. 5/2/3 (N.A.R.). For the request to alter the agreement Rhodes to Imperial Secretary, Cape Town, 7 August 1890. L.O. 5/2/3 (N.A.R.).

⁷⁵ See, for instance, letter by P. E. Hall, Resident Magistrate Mongu to A. Jalla, 24 March 1929. File: *Administration Britannique Kalomo-Mongu, 1908-1933*. Sefula. P.M.S. archives.

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The missionaries in Bulozi, being Low Church Protestants, were opposed to the Portuguese who were Catholics, and whom they associated with the slave trade. At the news of the final settlement of the western boundary with the Portuguese in Angola in 1905, Jalla wrote regretfully that the Portuguese had succeeded in securing so much territory, and went on to add that the 'Portuguese Government is another name for the slave trade'.⁷⁶

Moreover, some missionary evidence was given under the direction of the Company and the colonial authorities. Thus, in December 1903, a telegram was sent from London to 'Charter' Bulawayo, stating that the British case 'discloses great lack of evidence as to the Barotse authority prior to 1891 in Eastern portion disputed territory' and requesting 'additional European and native statements'. Instructions on the form of these statements were also sent.

Greatest care must be used not to give in native statements references to latitude, longitude. . . . The dates of events may be exactly indicated as having happened ten, twelve or thirteen years ago as case may be.

The missionaries Louis Jalla, Adolphe Jalla and François Coillard were allotted areas on which to report, and then as a precaution they were warned that 'care should be exercised that various statements do not contradict one another'.⁷⁷

While there is no direct evidence of missionaries falsifying their testimonies, the pressures on them to produce the answers the Company and the British Government required must have been very strong.

Clearly the formal reports on the extent of the kingdom have to be treated with caution. By pointing out possible weaknesses in them, however, one does not deny their value. Some of the investigators were experienced travellers and well equipped for their mission. Major Gibbons and his party provide a good and interesting example in this respect. Gibbons was not a newcomer to the Zambezi region. In 1895 to 1896 he had visited and 'mapped out' south-eastern Bulozi with the aim of determining the 'value and industrial prospects of

⁷⁶ A. Jalla, 'New Barotse Frontier', 11 July 1905, *News from Barotseland*, January 1906.

⁷⁷ Telegram ('Urgent. Very Confidential'), London, 15 December 1903 to Charter Bulawayo. In Barotse Boundary Commission. *Boundaries Anglo-Portuguese*. K.D.E.2/7/5 (N.A.Z.).

the country',⁷⁸ for European prospecting and settlement. Finally, his 1898 expedition had such multiple aims, ranging from the need to determine the geographical limits of the kingdom of Lewanika and the country's economic potential to the ethnographical survey of the whole Lozi territory.⁷⁹

Clearly conclusions reached on any one of these subjects must have benefited from knowledge gathered in relation to other subjects. For these reasons the difference between Gibbons' report and that of his predecessor, Goold Adams, is both interesting and significant.

Apart from the significance given to reports by the qualifications and methods used by the people who compiled them, it is also possible to carry out cross-checks from external and independent sources.

First of all, there are comments from European travellers who had no direct connection with either the Company or the Colonial Government, and whose observations were in some instances made long before the boundary crisis arising from the 'scramble'. The value of these has been seen in corroborating evidence for the extent of Lozi influence over the Ila and Tonga groups. Similar independent references are also available concerning the extent of Lozi influence and control in the south, in the Chobe or Linyanti area. There are records of European hunters who hunted elephants in this area on the permission of the Lozi king going back to the 1870s.⁸⁰

Apart from early references and independent individual European written reports on the extent of Lozi control, there are various ways of cross-checking within the framework of the Lozi traditional structure. Firstly, traditions of wars and conquest are closely related with the individual kings who led them and during whose reign they were fought. It should therefore be possible to cross-check by identifying campaigns with individual rulers. Secondly, the Lozi were a slave-owning community and they drew their slaves from all the subject groups. Slavery was abolished in

⁷⁸ A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North*, i, p. 3. For a full account of this expedition see Gibbons, *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa, 1895-1896*, Methuen 1898.

⁷⁹ A. St H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North*, i, p. 4.

⁸⁰ F. C. Selous, File A. 3/18/18/5 (N.A.Z.). For some accounts of Selous' long experience of the Chobe and Zambezi regions, see F. C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa*, Rowland Ward, London 1893, pp. 209-63. E. C. Tabler, 'The Diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888', *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, Chatto and Windus, London 1963, pp. 54, 67ff.

1906, but a large number of liberated slaves stayed in Bulozhi. In the course of this study, former slaves and descendants of former slaves from Gwembe valley in the south,⁸¹ the Kaonde tribe in the east,⁸² the Luvale tribe in the north,⁸³ and the Yei tribe in the south in the area of Linyanti⁸⁴ were encountered.

Finally some cross-checking on Lozi claims could be made on the side of the supposed subject groups. In the course of this study, it was not possible to visit every tribe alleged to have been subjugated by the Lozi. Moreover, where the attempt was made to collect traditions of their conquest by the Lozi, some resentment was aroused, particularly among the young and educated groups. The existing political climate also, as in many newly independent states, charged with inter-tribal competition and antagonism, is not favourable to research into tribal 'imperialism'.

Luckily, however, most of the tribal political relationships did not disappear instantly at the onset of colonial rule. At that time also, there were still surviving groups and individuals who could speak freely and knowingly about their past historical relationships with the Lozi. These accounts were sometimes recorded by the local colonial administrators who sought to understand the people better by discovering and understanding their past. In some cases the administrators even reported on the then surviving links with the Lozi.

Thus the Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province recalled that as late as 1931

Ba ila-Balundwe chiefs, Siamusonde, Mwanachingwala and

⁸¹ *Simainga Family*: Ma Simainga was brought to Bulozhi with a number of children. They all went to one Induna except for the youngest girl, Lumba, who was given to the missionaries. The missionaries brought up the girl and later married her off to the first Lozi Evangelist, Samuel Zaza. Through missionary influence, Zaza was given land and a village site on which to raise his Christian family. The village is Mule, near Sefula Mission. After the liberation, Lumba's mother and brothers came to live in Mule, where their children still live.

⁸² Katukula Muchima. Muchima Village near Nasikena; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; District: Mongu-Lealui.

⁸³ Numba Luhamba. Nakonga Village: Sinumuyambi (Numuyambi); Silalo; District: Mongu-Lealui.

⁸⁴ For a period to 1885, the writer's paternal grandfather was a representative Induna among the Mbukushu tribe on the Linyanti (Chobe, Mashi or Kwandu) River. In 1886, he was moved to the Lealui Kuta as a reward for his part in supporting King Lewanika, who had been forced into exile in 1884, but regained the kingship at the end of 1885. He brought a Yei wife from there who was in turn accompanied by a few relatives who to this day have remained in Bulozhi, e.g. Ma Sibeso Kacana, married in Likone village in Kashembe Sinumuyambi Silalo, Mongu-Lealui district.

Chongo informed me that it would be quite impossible to dip their cattle without an order from the Paramount chief, Barotseland, to whom they said they still owed allegiance. They also informed me that until the closing of Barotseland, they had regularly paid tribute of cattle to the Paramount chief.⁸⁵

Then he added a comment to the effect that it appeared that Barotse domination penetrated well into what is now the Mazabuka District.

In relation to the Kaonde, the Assistant District Commissioner for Kasempa in 1906, E. A. Copeman, as already seen, recorded that he was told by Chief Kasempa that prior to the establishment of colonial rule, three Kaonde groups under chiefs Mushima, Katatola and Kasempa himself came under Lozi influence.⁸⁶

Boma District Note Books, where local administrators kept records of events in their districts as well as historical and anthropological notes on the tribal groups within their district, contain some interesting and useful information on tribal structures as well as inter-tribal relationships, some of which is relevant to the Lozi conquests.

It is clear from the analysis of evidence on the limits of the Lozi kingdom that to try to give a full and accurate definition of the limits of the Lozi kingdom is difficult. But for the purpose of this study it is important to realise that it was on the inner strength of the Lozi monarchy achieved by Lewanika and the wide extent of Lozi influence that the British South Africa Company was to rely in securing the widest possible territorial claims for their concessions from Lewanika.

⁸⁵ H. F. Cartmel Robinson. P. C. Southern Province, Livingstone. 23 September 1936. ZA/9/1 (N.A.Z.).

⁸⁶ Copeman to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Kalomo, Kasempa, 25 May 1906, IN/1/9 (N.A.Z.). See also note 17 above.

9 The Lozi response to European intrusion

By the late 1880s the Lozi kingdom found itself caught in between the rival claims of the British in the south and east, the Germans in the south-west, and the Portuguese in the west and north. All around, independent African states were brusquely overturned. It is in this context that Lewanika's later career must be examined. How far was he able, in this situation, to succeed in balancing the introduction and exploitation of new ideas and methods with the restoration of 'traditional' royal power? How far was the apparent preservation of Lozi institutions, in contrast to all other Central African kingdoms, the result of Lewanika's own skill? And how far, underneath the appearances of continued Lozi statehood, did the political, social and economic realities correspond to Lewanika's ideal?

The external features of the process by which between 1886 and 1911 Bulolo passed from an independent African state to become a protectorate within a protectorate are now firmly established.¹ It is the history of a series of concessions and agreements signed by Lewanika and his counsellors by which his sovereign rights were steadily whittled away. Four of these stand out; the Ware Concession of 1889, the Lochner Concession of 1890, the Lawley Concession of 1898, and the Lewanika Concession of 1900.² But while the political

¹ L. H. Gann, 'The Birth of a Plural Society', *The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the B.S.A. Company 1894-1914*, Manchester University Press, 1958. G. L. Caplan, *A Political History of Barotseland 1879-1965*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1968. G. L. Caplan, 'Barotseland's scramble for protection', *Journal of African History*, x, 1969, pp. 277-94. G. L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969, A Political History of Zambia's Western Province*, C. Hurst, London 1970. Eric Stokes 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State' *The Zambesian Past*, Manchester University Press, 1966, pp. 261-301.

² Cited fully by T. W. Baxter, *The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia*, Occasional Papers of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, no. 1, June 1963, pp. 3-41.

and constitutional bearing of these transactions on the European Scramble has received considerable attention, little in the way of studying them within the context of Lozi politics has been attempted. In many respects, the picture of events projected by a superficial reading of the missionary records has been allowed to stand as sufficient explanation of Lozi motives. In the light of our examination of Lewanika's character and policy, however, the validity of that depiction must be seriously questioned.

A major difficulty for an interpreter of this period lies in the character of the written evidence concerning Lewanika. So far in this study, the king has emerged as an agile politician very much in control of the situation and skilfully varying his tactics to pursue a constant policy of consolidation. That policy had been framed with two principal aims in view: (a) self-preservation, and (b) the revival of the Lozi kingship in its past splendour. Such a picture is strikingly at variance with that handed down by Coillard, Jalla and the early administrators. For them, Christianity and British rule came just in time to save a barbarous people and rescue their State from imminent collapse.³

Coillard attributes the initiative for soliciting British protection mainly to Lewanika who, according to the missionary, was driven on to do so by the realisation that his hold on the kingship was tenuous in the extreme. Although, as will be shown, Coillard was later concerned to play his own role in the negotiations for the Protectorate, there seems no reason to doubt the general truth of the picture which emerges from his evidence and from other sources of Lewanika's own initiative in the matter.

According to Coillard's account, as recorded by one of his colleagues, soon after the missionaries were established at Sefula in 1886, Lewanika paid them a visit and broached the matter:

[He spoke] about the future of Africa and the government of his country, and said he wished to place his country under Queen Victoria's Protection as Khama had done. He did not trust his people and was also afraid of other nations such as the Portuguese and the Boers, the latter Khama was once afraid of, but now he had nothing to fear being under the protection of the Queen.⁴

³ A. Jalla, *The Story of the Barotse Nation*, N.R. Publications Bureau, 1961, p. 52. Coryndon to Milner, 19 December 1905. C.O. *African (South)* 802.

⁴ Waddell's Diary, 14 November 1886. W.A. 1/1/3 (N.A.R.).

Coillard himself recorded that in October 1888 he was asked to attend a grand *pitso* at Lealui to which chiefs from all parts of the country and representatives of foreign tribes had come. The main topic of discussion at this public gathering was the question whether the protection of Satoli (Queen Victoria) should be extended to Bulozi. Coillard claimed that Lewanika had conceived the notion while in exile in 1884-5, and that he often talked it over with Coillard, asking the missionary to write to the British authorities on his behalf. Coillard states that he refused to write at this juncture, advising Lewanika to discuss the matter with his Indunas first and to consult Khama.⁵ Only after great persuasion did Coillard agree to act on Lewanika's behalf, and on 8 January 1889 wrote to Sir Sidney Shippard, the Administrator of Bechuanaland:

I am urgently requested by Lewanika, the king of the Barotse, to write to Your Excellency, and through you to Her Majesty the Queen's Government. The king Lewanika is most anxious to solicit that the Protectorate of the British Government should soon be extended to him and his people. For reasons of prudence suggested by our local circumstances, I thought it advisable not to yield too easily to his desire, in order as well to test his sincerity as to make sure of the disposition of his headmen. But the king's persistence removed all motives for further delay. I therefore lay before you his urgent request. . . .⁶

Leaving aside, for the moment, Coillard's own reasons for wishing 'to test his sincerity' over the request for protection, how are we to account for Lewanika's 'persistence'?

It is important to ask first of all how clearly Lewanika understood the forces involved in the scramble. Obviously Lewanika's main objective was the creation of a powerful Lozi kingdom on the basis previously achieved by his forefathers prior to the Makololo invasion. This is not the vision of a man who fully understood the new age.

Nevertheless, Lewanika did have a reasonably wide range of information upon which to base a decision. He was aware of developments in Bechuanaland and in Matebeleland; through the missionaries and their Sotho assistants he knew of events in Basutoland (Lesotho); he was very alive to the dangers from the west and

⁵ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, Hodder and Stoughton 1897, p. 329.

⁶ T. W. Baxter, *The Barotse Concessions*, p. 39.

aimed to exclude both Mambari traders and Portuguese agents.

As for the more positive aspects of the appeal for protection, the best clues to Lewanika's hopes are given by his earlier reception and treatment of the missionaries. To Coillard, the presence of Christian teaching and the maintenance of Lewanika's system seemed incompatible. To Lewanika, they did not; if kept under his control, the missionaries could be exploited for economic, educational and diplomatic benefits, all of which would redound to the profit and glory of the Lozi State.

The same hope to use modernising influences to the benefit of his system appears in the clauses of the copy of the Lochner Treaty of 1890, which was left in Lewanika's possession and which presumably represents the agreement he believed he was signing. (These clauses were very significantly altered in the copy held by the Company.)

In Lewanika's copy there was the following clause:

The Company further agrees that it will forthwith under the king's supervision and authority aid and assist in the establishment and propagation of the Christian religion and the education and civilisation of the native subjects of the king by the establishment, maintenance and endowment of such churches, schools and trading stations as may be from time to time mutually agreed upon by the king and the Resident.⁷

Lewanika's copy of the Treaty also reveals that the king hoped to obtain development aid and external protection without any reduction of his internal authority. 'The Company shall not be allowed or obliged to interfere in any matter concerning the King's power or authority over any of his own subjects.'

Lewanika may well have been naive to suppose that he could strike such a favourable bargain - in the Company's copy of the Lochner Treaty, the emphasis upon development under Lewanika's supervision and authority falls away; secondly, it is merely noted that the 'Company shall not be obliged to interfere' in the internal affairs of Lewanika's state, while nothing is said about the Company not being allowed to do so by the king. But it is clear that this was the bargain Lewanika was seeking, and which he thought he had made.

The extension of British protection to Bulozhi cannot, however, be

⁷ Middleton to Salisbury, 27 October 1890 enclosure in No. 158 F.O. 403/157. Imperial Secretary Graham Bower to H. Currey. B.S.A. Co. sent 17 November 1891. C.T. 1/4/4.

explained purely in terms of Lewanika's initiative.⁸ For Coillard and the other missionaries, the contradictions in Lewanika and the Lozi situation in general became so frustrating that they came to look forward to British rule in Bulozi as the only influence that could remodel existing Lozi institutions and enable Christianity to 'produce all its results'.⁹ The missionaries favoured Lewanika's agreement to the concessions and played a significant role in procuring it.

The threat of the Scramble became apparent to Coillard much earlier than it did to Lewanika. By 1889 Coillard was already seeing Bulozi as caught up in 'the encroaching tide of European immigration'. Following the signing of the Ware Concession, he wrote:

There then are the first waves of the encroaching tide of European immigration which are passing over the Zambezi. Where will they stop? What will result from them, for the nation itself, and the tribes of Central Africa? In what measure will they be helpful or unhelpful to the advancement of the Kingdom of God, and will they affect our mission in particular?¹⁰

In Basutoland, Coillard had already had first-hand experience as to the fate of African states caught in the line of European advance and territorial struggle. He had also learned how insecure the position of the mission was under such circumstances. In 1865, serious war broke out between the Basuto and the Boers of the Orange Free State. The Basuto were defeated 'morally and materially', while on 4 April 1866 Basutoland was annexed by the decree of the President of the Orange Republic. Further fighting broke out in October 1867 and the Basuto were threatened with extinction. Ultimately, British intervention saved the situation with the general proclamation of British protection on 12 March 1868. In the chaos and plundering of war, mission stations had been broken up, churches scattered and missionaries expelled by the Boers. The Coillards withdrew to Natal and returned to Basutoland only in 1869 after a British protectorate had been established.¹¹ This experience went a long way in determining the nature of Coillard's advice to the

⁸ The king's initiative is greatly stressed by, for instance, Caplan in *The Elites of Barotseland*, pp. 55-6.

⁹ M. Burnier, *News from Barotseland*, 9 July 1900.

¹⁰ F. Coillard, 'Report to Paris, 28 June 1889', *Journal des Missions*, no. 65, 1890, pp. 24ff.

¹¹ V. Ellenberger, *Landmarks in Basutoland 1833-1933*. Pickering and Inglis, London 1933. J. F. Mackintosh, 'Coillard: The Founding of the Paris Evangelical Mission', *News from Barotseland*, 1-20, 1897-1903.

Lozi on how to deal with the encroaching white power and also explains, to some extent, his partiality for British protection.

A more detailed picture of the role Coillard played in persuading the Lozi to sign both the 1889 and 1890 concessions emerges from his correspondence rather than from his published works. Indeed, it would seem that while Coillard was anxious to conceal some aspects of his role from the Lozi, the editors of the *Journal des Missions* were similarly anxious to conceal other aspects from the public in Europe, for his published reports in the *Journal* reveal significant omissions.

Coillard acknowledged that the arrival of Ware in 1889 and his request for a concession raised a novel problem for the Lozi.

They were afraid of a plot and were at the same time fascinated by the considerable gifts of Martini-Henry guns, ammunition, blankets and clothes which Mr Ware had not forgotten to bring.

He describes the 'pitso' that was summoned to discuss the issue:

. . . Through the twisting paths of African logic almost all of them reached the same conclusions : 'We have missionaries to instruct us and what we lack now that Westbeech is dead is a merchant to bring us clothes, buy our ivory and go back home. Who are these Whites? Where do they come from? Who is sending them? Who told them that this red mineral exists in our country? Are you quite sure, chiefs, that their presents are in good faith and that by accepting them you will not sell our country?'¹²

However, Coillard dismissed all this debate as a pretence on the part of the Lozi, the Indunas having been won over by gifts beforehand. Yet the objectivity of this comment by Coillard on the Lozi attitude to Ware is questionable when it becomes clear that Coillard himself was in favour of granting the concession from the outset. On 20 June 1889, seven days before the granting of the concession to Ware, he wrote to Boegner, the Director of the Mission in Paris:

A Mr Ware is here representing a company which wishes to obtain from the king a concession to search for gold in the country. The great presents which he has brought with him after having flattered the greed of our chiefs has roused their suspicion. They naturally look to me. I have made several visits to the capital recently. . . . Believe me, I will do everything I can to make these transactions succeed while always watching over the interests of

¹² F. Coillard, Report to Paris, 28 June 1889, *Journal des Missions*, 65, 1890, pp. 24ff.

Lewanika and the nation. What changes that will bring in the country!¹³

After the 'pitso' another discussion took place in 'the great Council of Chiefs' in which Coillard took part and following which the concession was granted. In a report to the Committee in Paris, the decisive role played by Coillard in granting the Concession to Ware is revealed:

This concession alone is evidence of the confidence given to the missionaries. . . the Barotses would never have taken this step forward without the confidence which they have in the judgement of M. Coillard, close to the king, and without the certainty that their interests would be safeguarded by their missionaries.¹⁴

The seriousness of the intentions of the missionaries to safeguard Lozi interests in dealings with the incoming foreigners was seen by the missionary conference's decision at Sesheke in August 1889 to open a station at Kazungula under Louis Jalla. It was expected that the Batoka country would see a concentration of both natives and Europeans. 'It was hoped that Louis Jalla, among other duties, would be the representative of the king among the white people to guarantee justice and fair dealing in the relationship of the Barotse with foreigners.'¹⁵

The missionaries were clearly very pleased and expected important results from the Ware Concession. To them this was civilisation at last, a response that found a place in the Conference report of 1889:

Report will show you we have achieved progress, little but encouraging. The more so since the gateway to this country has just been opened to civilisation in an unexpected way. A company from Kimberley has obtained by way of concession to search for gold a great portion of this country. . . . Oh that gold may be found on this bank of the Zambezi and that the wave of civilisation may

¹³ Coillard to Boegner, Sefula, 20 June 1889; 1889 *Coillard File*, Paris. Note: Lochner claimed in 1890 that Coillard had told him that he (Coillard) did not help Ware and repeatedly warned Lewanika against giving in to Ware, but the king and Indunas were dazzled by Ware's presents and bribery. Lochner to Harris, Sefula, April 1890. C.T. 1/4/5.

¹⁴ Report of the Zambezi Conference to the Committee in Paris. Sesheke, 19-23 August 1889. Passage quoted is in the original *Zambèze File*, 1889. However, it is omitted in the printed report in *Journal des Missions*, 65, 1890, pp. 9ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

overrun this country and transform it.¹⁶

The Ware Concession proved a fiasco, being sold eventually to Rhodes with the much more powerful British South Africa Company.

In the negotiations for the Lochner Treaty, Coillard decided it was necessary to use less direct tactics in bringing the Lozi round to granting the treaty. This was a result of political agitation that followed the granting of the Ware Concession. Coillard recorded that:

Ill-intentioned people spread the rumour in Sesheke Province that the missionaries - and that was aimed directly at me - had already induced Lewanika to sell a part of his country.¹⁷

This rumour Coillard reported ran like a prairie fire and raised general discontent, particularly among the chiefs (Indunas) to an extent where even a revolution was possible. The missionaries feared that they might be ill-treated or even thrown out of the country.

Coillard was whole-heartedly in favour of the Lochner Concession for, as he said later, he had no doubt at all 'that this was for this nation the sole "planche" of salvation that remained to it'.¹⁸

Coillard did not think the Lozi were capable or suited to rule themselves: 'I was anxious to see this unhappy country, a hot bed of constant intrigues and revolutions, where is so little security for property or life, pass under the protection of wise and humane government.'¹⁹

Neither did Coillard think that the Lozi could stand against the 'engulfing waves' of European immigrants and concession seekers. To him the sooner the Lozi agreed to a treaty the better: 'Today these were knocking at the door and asking to negotiate (*traiter*), tomorrow they would have forced it and would have invaded the country as masters.'²⁰

The link with Rhodes promised great advantages to the mission. The difficulties and expense of communications had raised the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ F. Coillard, 13 July 1890 (addressed to no one in particular). Original in the *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris. Also *Journal des Missions*, 65, 1890.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Coillard to Harris, 5 June 1891 in C.T. 1/4/1 (N.A.R.). Also Coillard to Hunter, 12 August 1890. C.O. 5/2/1 (N.A.R.).

²⁰ Coillard, 13 July 1890, *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris.

question as to the viability of a mission so far from its supply base. The revolution that Rhodes with his Cape to Cairo railway scheme held out offered to solve the long-term problem miraculously.²¹ Rhodes, on the other hand, was lavish in his promises of support to the mission, while at the same time requesting Coillard to assist with Company negotiations in Bulozi.²² But Coillard was now convinced of the need to maintain an outward neutrality: 'It was important to avoid everything which in the eyes of the natives (might) identify us with his (Lochner's) mission.'²³

Coillard feigned disinterest in the negotiations, threatening to wash his hands of the king's affairs if he evaded instead of entering into serious negotiations. He passed himself off to the Lozi as a Frenchman whose only interest in Lochner's mission was to ensure that Lozi interests were duly safeguarded. Later Coillard congratulated himself on the effectiveness of his approach:

I was right to do so. When I protested my nationality and my disinterest in these transactions, they replied from all round 'Yes, yes, we know you are not English. You are French. You are our father and you watch over our interests.'²⁴

According to Coillard's account, at the start of negotiations 'everything forboded a violent opposition' and as for Lewanika, 'his relationship with Mr Lochner threatened more than once to blow up altogether'.²⁵ Lochner was kept waiting for three months before Lewanika was willing to summon the Kuta to discuss the issue. The delay was put down to the absence of some of the Indunas on a campaign in Lukwakwa, but Coillard felt there was a deeper reason. The king 'did not seem anxious to face the question of the so-called protectorate'.²⁶ Lochner resorted freely to gifts and bribery, especially among the Sesheke Indunas²⁷ who were already excited about rumours that Lewanika had sold Batoka and was now going to sell the rest of the country.

²¹ Coillard to Hunter, 12 August 1890. C.O. 5/2/1 (N.A.R.).

²² Rhodes to Coillard, 3 July 1890. L.O. 512/2B (N.A.R.). Harris to Lochner, 5 July 1890. C.T. 1/4/5.

²³ Coillard, 13 July 1890, *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris. Lochner to Harris, 23 April 1890. C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.).

²⁴ Coillard, 13 July 1890, *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Coillard to Smith, Sefula, 20 June 1890. C.O. 5/1/1/1, ii, folio 990 (N.A.R.).

²⁷ F. E. Lochner to Rutherford Harris, 10 June 1890, L.A. 5/2/3.

Eventually the concession was granted with some forty Indunas 'jostling' to put their signatures to the document. Apparently, the intervention of Khama played some part. The arrival of his messenger Mokoatsa at a critical stage during the negotiations with a threatening message to the Indunas who opposed Lewanika, struck terror, according to Coillard. Later he gave another explanation of the Indunas' willingness to sign: 'They imagined, I think, that they would thus get their quota part of the "mali" -the money!'²⁸

But the concurrence of the missionaries to the concession was deeply influential, a fact shown later by the extent to which the missionaries were blamed when Lewanika later repudiated the concession. Coillard himself wrote, three weeks after the concession was granted, that Lewanika had acted on the advice he had given him. 'He felt as he himself said that it was coming from his better friend.'²⁹

Lochner's independent account corroborates the importance of Coillard's role. In April 1890, two months before the granting of the concession, Lochner wrote to Harris (the B.S.A. Company's Secretary at Kimberley) on the value of Coillard's assistance: 'I must say that if it had not been for the influence he has secured over Lewanika, my mission would have been impossible.'³⁰

After securing the concession, Lochner again testified how in the negotiations 'Coillard rendered me most valuable assistance which cannot be overestimated.'³¹

In this way the missionaries powerfully contributed to the Protection Policy. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were any more aware than Lewanika of the full nature of the British South Africa Company or of the discrepancies between the Lewanika and the Company copies of the Lochner Concession. Indeed, Dr Caplan has gone so far as to show how the missionary support for Lochner and his mission was based on a serious misunderstanding of the relationship between the British Government and the Chartered Company.³²

But if we can explain in this way the character of the impulse towards Protection, what of internal Lozi response? It is clear that in

²⁸ Coillard, 13 July 1890, *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris. Note: Yet Coillard claimed he and Jalla explained everything to the Lozi, Coillard to Rhodes, 4 July 1890, C.T. 1/4/3 (N.A.R.). Why did he let them sign under such misapprehension?

²⁹ Coillard, 13 July 1890, *Zambèze File*, 1890, Paris.

³⁰ Lochner to Harris, 9 April 1890. C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.).

³¹ Lochner to Harris, Lealui, 27 June 1890 (telegram). C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.).

³² Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland*, 1970, p. 51.

the period of Lochner's negotiations and more especially in the year that followed there was very strong opposition.

In the concession crisis, Lewanika met with opposition not only from his traditional opponents the Mambunda, but also from his own party, that of the traditionalists. Coillard wrote that: 'If the old heathen Conservative Party had the upper hand. . . we must be prepared to see another revolution.'³³

At Sesheke, the last of the 1885 rebellion centres in Bulozi to be brought under control, the concession crisis provided a new issue and an excuse for hitting back at Lewanika, who had so ruthlessly suppressed their resistance. It was also an opportunity to undermine Lozi domination for the Sesheke and Toka groups. They protested vociferously in 1889 when the Ware Concession was granted over their own area. Coillard reported at the time: 'A great deal of ill feeling among the Sesheke chiefs'. In 1890 Lochner realised what a formidable opposition group they formed and showered them with presents and bribes.³⁴ These did very little to abate the political storm that followed and in May 1891 Coillard once more recorded: 'They tell me the excitement at Sesheke is beyond all description. That about Ware's Concession was nothing to compare with what is going on today.'³⁵

This widespread and dangerous combined opposition, together with his own doubts and hesitations, forced Lewanika to adopt a new position. He denounced the Treaty, asserting that he had been deceived, which was to some extent true. He denounced Coillard and Jalla as 'cheaters, liars, thieves, secret agents'.³⁶ He turned to the ex-mission layman, George Middleton, as adviser. In June 1891 Coillard wrote that: 'the king is accusing everybody of having made a plot against him and wishing to kill him to put Sepopa in his place'.³⁷

When Middleton revealed that Lochner was an agent of the Company and not of the British Crown, Lewanika wrote for assurances to Queen Victoria. 'I am troubled by this and should the report spread, there will be trouble and excitement in my country and people.'³⁸

³³ Coillard to Mrs Hart, Sefula, 28 May 1890. C.O. 5/1/1/1, ii, folio 978 (N.A.R.).

³⁴ F. E. Lochner to Rutherford Harris, 10 June 1890, L.O. 5/2/3.

³⁵ Coillard Journal, 22 May 1891. C.O. 5/1/1/1, ii (N.A.R.).

³⁶ Cited by G. Caplan, *A Political History of Barotseland 1878-1965*. London University Ph.D., 1968, p. 147.

³⁷ Coillard Journal, 8 June 1891. C.O. 5/1/1/11, ii (N.A.R.).

³⁸ Lewanika to the Queen, Sefula, 1 November 1890, Enclosure III in no. 119 F.O. Con. 6178 (F.O. 403/157).

In the middle of this political storm it is easy to see why Lewanika would try to find some scapegoats other than himself. Lewanika's protestations and his repudiation of the Lochner Concession were not taken seriously by the British authorities in Cape Town or London. The official view was that the Secretary of State did not have to express approval or disapproval of the Lochner Concession since it did not concern any exercise of powers of Government or administration by the British South Africa Company.³⁹

However, in his protests Lewanika not only reveals the extent to which he was influenced by missionaries, but also raises the question of the extent to which he understood what was involved in the concession and its significance. Lewanika claimed that he granted the concession because he was made to understand that it was the equivalent of a treaty with the Queen. Later, the Colonial Office admitted that 'Lochner may have made a too free use of Her Majesty's name in communicating with Lewanika.'⁴⁰ Also a clause in the Concession stated clearly that 'this agreement shall be considered in the light of a treaty between my said Barotse Nation and the Government of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria'.

Apart from the confusion between the Company and the British Government, Lewanika based his repudiation on the argument that 'the objects of the Company were not explained to him at the time as they are written in the document now', and that the Concession was 'obtained under misrepresentation and insufficient explanation'.⁴¹

Although the British Government dismissed Lewanika's protests it is clear that they were not merely forced upon him by internal opposition. In fact, Lewanika remained faithful to the ideal of 'a treaty of amity and political preference with Her Majesty's Government'.⁴² What he was not prepared to accept was the Company's vision of European rule and European settlement in Barotseland. There is no doubt that Lewanika's suspicions of the Company at this stage were amply justified. Not only was there the matter of the discrepancies between the two copies of the Treaty, but Rhodes and the directors were discussing at this time either large-scale European settlement in Bulolo or its concession to Portugal in exchange for Beira.⁴³

³⁹ F.O. to C.O., 12 August 1891. No. 128 in F.O. Con. 6178 (F.O. 403/157).

⁴⁰ C.O. to F.O., 19 October 1891. No. 169 in F.O. Con. 6178 (F.O. 403/157).

⁴¹ Middleton to Salisbury, 27 October 1890. No. 158 in F.O. Con. 6178 F.O. 403/157).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Telegram to Home Board (B.S.A. Co.), sent 2 July 1890' L.O. 5/2/2/B, folio 54 (N.A.R.).

Nevertheless, the logic of the situation as Lewanika saw it in the early 1890s prevented him from consistently seeing the situation in terms of European occupation and exploitation. As far as he was concerned, the Matebele were a more immediate enemy than the Europeans. In 1893, failing to realise how near the eclipse of Matebele power was, he wrote to Loch, the High Commissioner at the Cape, complaining about the continued threat of Matebele invasion. On receipt of news of war between the Company forces and the Matebele, Lewanika wrote: 'If we had been told of such a war, we would have run to help putting down the common foe.'⁴⁴

Lewanika also continued to emphasise the introduction of European skills and the knowledge of English. This policy has been interpreted in a recent study by Dr Caplan as part of an attempt to build 'a modern nation on the Upper Zambezi'.⁴⁵ What Lewanika had in mind, however, was very far from what most people would expect of a modern nation. His interest in modern skills and techniques was chiefly directed towards strengthening the position of the king and his supporters. 'Modernisation' was not intended to undermine the Lozi economic and social system, but to enrich those who dominated it. Lewanika intended to confine the new education as best as he could to royalty and the sons of favourite Indunas only.⁴⁶ Dr Caplan calls the young men who benefited from this early education the 'new elite'. This 'new elite', however, when scrutinised is seen to consist largely of traditional aristocrats - princes and the sons of Indunas.

What does seem to be true is that Lewanika was building up in this way a group of young men dependent on his patronage and loyal to his vision of the Lozi State. As we shall see, he later strengthened his own position by replacing older aristocratic advisers by members of this new educated group. They were particularly the group of Lewanika's son, Litia, and formed the dominant class in Lozi politics after his accession as Yeta III in 1916. They then displayed clearly enough the nature of Lewanika's 'modernisation'. They attacked the Company on two counts: for not providing enough education or development, and for undermining the political, social and

⁴⁴ Lewanika to Loch, 27 November 1893. Encl. 6 in no. 91 in F.O. Con. 6537 (F.O. 403/197). Also Encl. 5. Lewanika to Moffat, 24 November 1893. F.O. Con. 6537 (F.O. 403/197).

⁴⁵ G. L. Caplan, *A Political History of Barotseland, 1878-1965*.

⁴⁶ Coillard to Boegner, 5 August 1888, Paris. Also *Journal des Missions*, 1889, no. 64, pp. 65ff. This is supported by the fact that the earliest groups to be educated still surviving in Bulozi today are mainly members of the royal family or Indunas.

economic position of the Lozi aristocracy.⁴⁷

At any rate, Lewanika's diplomatic and educational contacts with the Whites continued after the Lochner Concession crisis and gradually he came to realise more fully the scale and significance of European advance. By 1900 he had come to realise what an invincible challenge it presented. This may be seen in the dramatic alteration of policy represented by the Lawley Concession of 1898. Until this point, Lewanika seems to have imagined that his kingdom could maintain some form of subordinate alliance without vital curtailment of internal sovereignty. The Lawley Concession marks his first formal surrender.

Serious apprehension at the encroaching European power is evident in Lewanika's mind from 1895. Coillard wrote in July 1895 to Loch the High Commissioner about the pressing necessity for a British resident at Lealui : 'We are reaching a period of transition fraught with danger. The boat is about to shoot down the rapids. Unless it be abandoned to its fate, is it not time to put at the helm a man of devotion and ability?'⁴⁸

The nature of this 'transition' can be understood in the light of the shifts in internal Lozi politics and the alteration in the relative influence of the missionaries and the British South Africa Company.

Disappointment with the Lochner Concession was bound to bring about an important change in the relation of Lewanika with the missionaries. Before 1890 they had been looked upon as a powerful force by the king and his opponents alike. Coillard had been welcomed warmly by Mataa, the rebel leader, in January 1885, as well as the restored Lewanika in March 1886. To both factions he seemed to have much to offer. On Coillard's first visit to the valley in January 1885 Mataa welcomed and addressed the pioneer missionary and his party saying:

Be welcome, Servants of God. You bring us rain and peace, plenty and sunshine. It is in the name of the whole nation that we receive you. . . . The nation is worn out, she is gasping for peace. She is languishing. There she is. We place her before you. Save her. As you can see, our king is only a child, be his father, surround him with your counsels.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Petition of Yeta III to the High Commissioner, 31 March 1921. N.R.B./1/2.294 (N.A.Z.).

⁴⁸ Coillard to Loch, 4 July 1895. Encl. II in 176 F.O. Con. 6784.

⁴⁹ Coillard Report, Leshoma to Lealui; Coillard Papers, File 1885, Paris.

When Coillard returned to the valley the second time in March 1886 after Mataa's overthrow he was addressed by Lewanika in similar terms: 'Moruti, you are old; give me counsel; how shall I rule my country and strengthen my government?'⁵⁰

At first, indeed, Lewanika expected active military assistance: 'and if I found myself engaged in a warlike enterprise, would you accompany me?' Lewanika asked Coillard, and on receiving a negative reply went on: 'At least you would lend me your guns and give me ammunition.'⁵¹

Coillard was firm in ruling out any such aid from the outset but remained valuable to the king as a friend and an adviser on foreign relations and an intermediary with the European world. Coillard equally had high expectations of his alliance with the king: 'We have the opportunity, perhaps unique, of taking possession of the country.'⁵² Coillard soon found, however, that goodwill towards the missionaries was far from universal.

In the varying reactions to the missionaries, two factions in particular can be identified. The first comprised the Mbunda medicine men and their Lozi adherents who clearly viewed the introduction of a new religion as a challenge to their position.⁵³

As time went on they were able to stir up opposition by blaming national disasters such as drought, locusts and even smallpox on the new religion, and the white men who brought it. 'Either our gods are angry, or the whiteman's God is bringing evil upon you. Better have nothing to do with them,'⁵⁴ they declared.

The second faction that opposed the missionaries and Christianity had an even greater effect on Lewanika, since it comprised men from the group of trusted supporters he had gathered round him after 1885. These were the men who had fought for him in 1885, and men upon whom his whole political position rested. Distinguished opponents to the missionaries among this group included the Ngambela Mwauluka, the old Induna Nalubutu and the powerful military leader Kalonga. As 'traditionalists' they were not prepared to see Christianity make

⁵⁰ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 222.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵² Coillard to Boegner, Sefula, 5 August 1888; Paris, *Journal des Missions*, 1889, no. 64. p. 55.

⁵³ It is said that the divinatory bones stopped Lewanika from receiving Coillard on his first visit to Bulozi in 1878 by giving non-committal predictions. D. F. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, Caxton Publications 1912, p. 325.

⁵⁴ *News from Barotseland* No. 4, April 1899.

significant headway. Mwauluka in particular was known to the missionaries as the 'Arch-enemy of the Gospel' and it was he who inspired the formal declaration by the Indunas that Lewanika would forfeit his throne if he were converted to Christianity.⁵⁵ Kalonga was an equally determined adherent of Lozi orthodoxy. Adolphe Jalla recorded that when in 1895 Nolianga, one of Lewanika's wives, became a Christian, Kalonga rebuked the king for not gaining the prior consent of his Officers of State, for 'the king's wives are priestesses of Nyambe and were presents of the nation to the king'.⁵⁶ Jalla went on to record that this stand by Kalonga 'had greater effect on Lewanika than even a revolution'. Nalubutu, like all the others, showed his distrust of missionaries with his advice to Lewanika not to shut both eyes when praying in the presence of a white missionary.⁵⁷

The missionaries labelled this faction the 'Pagan Conservative Party' and identified it with the group which had opposed the coming of the British Protectorate. In the preparatory discussions about the Protectorate in 1888, the 'Conservatives' made their stand clear:

If you will have the 'masole' (soldiers), let them come, but not while we are here. We serve you because you are king and sovereign, but if you become the 'mutanga' (slave), the subject of a master and a foreigner, that is humiliation the Barotse will never accept.⁵⁸

These then were the forces Lewanika had to contend with in his dealings with the missionaries. As early as February 1887 the first of a number of crises occurred causing Coillard to note: 'An element of latent opposition has come to light with which we may one day find ourselves in conflict.'⁵⁹ The crisis which followed the Lochner Treaty in 1890 was much graver and more protracted. In April 1892 Coillard wrote to the British Government on behalf of his fellow missionaries that the situation was 'most critical' and 'if anarchy is allowed to continue, we do not know how long we shall hold our feet in this

⁵⁵ *News from Barotseland No. 5*, August 1899.

⁵⁶ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 154.

⁵⁷ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 599.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 331. Full report of the debate, pp. 329-32.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

land. Colleagues and I suffer much from the hostile attitude of the chiefs. ...'⁶⁰

As a result of this experience and the failure of the British South Africa Company to take steps to fulfil the terms of the Lochner Concession, the missionaries were compelled to revise their approach. Coillard was determined to reduce the political involvement of the mission to a minimum. 'Matters having assumed such a threatening aspect, and being as far as our mission and our safety are concerned, in so grave a position, I must decline having in the future any more to do in these matters.'

However, since Coillard's own reputation and influence were bound up in the 1890 Agreement, though declining to undertake fresh negotiations, he was compelled to make representations on Lewanika's behalf for the despatch of a resident and for the payment of the subsidy stipulated in the Lochner Concession. In 1895, he went on sick leave to Europe. He called on Chamberlain at the Colonial Office where he emphasised the need for the immediate appointment of a Resident.⁶²

Coillard's absence from Bulozi between 1895 and 1899 came at a critical period. No one could replace him in terms of personal weight and stature. Relations soon took a turn for the worse due to the tactlessness of his colleagues. Davit, one of the younger missionaries, quarrelled violently with Litia at Kazungula, charging the Lozi with failing to keep agreements over a trade expedition to Palapye, and losing his head so far as to threaten a request for armed intervention by the B.S.A. Company. Although the matter was settled by an apology from Davit, it stirred Lewanika to anger and, as Jalla and Coillard agreed, damaged the position of the mission seriously. Of Lewanika's reaction Jalla wrote: 'I do not like to see the lightning which passes over Lewanika when our poor friend is talked of . . . the confidence of the king and the Ma Rotse in their missionaries has been shaken.'⁶³

It is probable that the Davit incident played some part in Lewanika's decision not to invite missionaries to the negotiations for the Lawley Concession in 1898. The incident still rankled with

⁶⁰ Coillard to Loch, 12 April 1892. Encl. II in C.O. to F.O., 26 August 1892. No. 205 in 6337 (F.O. 403/174).

⁶¹ Coillard to Harris, 5 June 1891. C.T. 1/4/1 (N.A.R.).

⁶² C.O. to F.O., 26 November 1896. No. 107, F.O. Con. 6911.

⁶³ Jalla to Boegner, 28 May 1898, Paris.

him as late as 1900 when he insisted that the missionaries should compensate him for the value of the cattle he had lost in the Palapye enterprise.⁶⁴

The mission was also weakened by reports which threw doubt on its future in Bulozhi. Reports were being circulated in the late 1890s that the P.M.S. and the London Missionary Society were to exchange stations and fields of work, the L.M.S. handing over to the P.M.S. all its stations in the French colonial territory of Madagascar and receiving in return all the missions that the P.M.S. had in South Africa.⁶⁵

The missionary body itself was weakened by increased ill-health and deaths among its members.⁶⁶ Coillard himself was taken seriously ill and in December 1895 was compelled to leave Bulozhi for Europe where he remained until December 1898 when he started on the return voyage and arrived back in Bulozhi in May 1899.

With Coillard's possibly permanent departure, many thought the 'heroic' days of the Barotse mission had passed away for ever.⁶⁷ 'His presence alone', said Jalla, 'was a force to the mission.'⁶⁸

Having dominated the mission to an extent that was resented by some of his colleagues⁶⁹ and acting in the vital role as the king's closest confidant and spokesman in dealings with foreigners, Coillard was impossible to replace. Adolphe Jalla, who had been Coillard's right-hand man on the political side, and who took over charge from Coillard of Lwatile, the station near to the capital, did not enjoy easy relations with the king. In January 1896, Jalla wrote that he 'had not had any serious discussion with the king for several months. A long and painful experience had forced me to tell the king that in order to stay good friends, we would have to renounce all negotiations, and from then on we only had exchanges of courtesy.'⁷⁰

The warmth with which Lewanika received Coillard on his return in 1899 revealed to some extent the gap that had been created between Lewanika and the missionaries during his absence.⁷¹

⁶⁴ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 302.

⁶⁵ Davit to Boegner, 28 September 1897, Paris. M. Kruger, librarian in Paris, confirmed there was such talk but no actual steps were taken.

⁶⁶ *News from Barotseland* No. 14, February 1902.

⁶⁷ *News from Barotseland* No. 4, April 1899.

⁶⁸ Jalla to Boegner, 28 September 1896, Paris.

⁶⁹ Beguin to Director P.M.S., 28 April 1898, Paris.

⁷⁰ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 167.

⁷¹ *News from Barotseland* No. 6, November 1899.

During Coillard's absence, Lewanika had been noticed to withdraw 'more and more from things of God' and to be 'less well disposed towards the mission'.⁷² But by October 1899 Dr Von de Prosch could report that 'Since M. Coillard's return, the king is very particular to attend public worship, comes to both services, and sends a messenger every day to salute the "baruti" (teachers)'.⁷³

However, although Coillard's return to Bulozi restored something of the old relationship between the king and the missionaries, there was no going back to the pre-Lochner days. Where Coillard and his colleagues had on their arrival entertained hopes of 'taking possession of the whole country' through the agency of the king and Indunas, now they wished to free themselves of royal patronage altogether. 'Its "borena" (kingship) patronage does far less for the Gospel progress than people suppose, while everywhere its hostility creates immense difficulties'.⁷⁴

And again: 'What becomes more and more evident is that we must make ourselves independent of the chiefs'.⁷⁵

The missionary conference at Sesheke in July 1902 also reached a conclusion very similar to that of Coillard:

Perhaps the greatest obstacle which we meet in our work is the wonderful fascination of the power which the king and chiefs of different degrees still yield. The common people in their dismal condition of serfdom or abject slavery have not yet understood that the Gospel is for them also, and that the Son of God has brought freedom to all.⁷⁶

Lewanika likewise shifted his attitude and at times gave expression to his disappointment at the missionaries' failure to bring the material advantages he had hoped from them:

What are you good for then? What benefits do you bring us? What have I to do with a bible which gives me neither rifles nor powder, sugar, tea nor coffee, nor artisans to work for me - none of the advantages I had hoped for?⁷⁷

Lewanika had initially looked on missionaries as political allies,

⁷² Louis Jalla to Bianquis, Secretary to the P.M.S., 27 December 1898, Paris.

⁷³ Dr Von de Prosch, Lealui, 16 October 1899. Also *News from Barotseland* No. 8, April, 1900.

⁷⁴ Coillard to M. Bianquis, October 1900.

⁷⁵ *News from Barotseland*, February 1902, p. 2.

⁷⁶ *News from Barotseland* No. 17, December 1902, p. 14.

⁷⁷ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambèze*, p. 534.

supplying counsel and even military aid, but now they were seen to fill a much humbler role as teachers in schools and dispensers of medical remedies. However, even in this secondary role, the missionaries did not seem to measure up to Lewanika's expectations. As early as 1888 Coillard had noticed a desire for learning among the Lozi which had led him to conclude: 'If we had the people and the means and were able to open one establishment for boys and one for girls, we would have such a number of pupils that we would have to limit them'.⁷⁸

Lewanika overwhelmed the missionaries with requests to train Lozi artisans, and he supported the missionary school programme by sending his own children to school and appointing overseers or school attendance officers known as 'shepherds'.⁷⁹ However, due to limited means and the problems already discussed above, missionaries could point to little in the way of positive achievement at the close of the century.

In 1898, moreover, a quarrel between the white missionaries and their Basuto assistants came into the open,⁸⁰ and Willie Mokalapa, one of the evangelists, founded an Ethiopian mission with South African connections and an affiliation to the African Methodist Episcopal Church to rival the P.M.S.⁸¹ Lewanika welcomed an alternative set of spokesmen who appealed to him even more for being black, and an alternative source of learning. However, to the P.M.S., and particularly Coillard, it was cause for concern. After unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation, Coillard was considering the P.M.S.'s withdrawal from Bulozhi, and at the time of his death in 1904 he was still full of gloom for the future of the mission. His colleagues believed that his despondency had hastened his end:

He suffered greatly all these months from the machinations of the Ethiopians, the king's double dealing and increasing heathenism, the indifference of a great number, the defections of several, the stationary condition of the work, the recent

⁷⁸ Coillard to Boegner, 5 August 1888, Paris.

⁷⁹ *News from Barotseland* No. 13, September 1901.

⁸⁰ L. Jalla to Bianquis, 27 December 1898, Paris.

⁸¹ Coillard to Boegner, Lealui, January 1900. *News from Barotseland* No. 9, July 1900. Coillard, 6 November 1900. *News from Barotseland* No. 12, April 1901. *News from Barotseland* No. 22, May 1904. E. Jacottet, *The Ethiopian Church and the Missionary Conference of Johannesburg*, P.M.S. Morija 1904. File IN1/7 (N.A.Z.).

difficulties in the school.⁸²

In relation to the situation in Bulozi, however, the missionaries were unable to appreciate that what they took to be objective observation was, in fact, highly coloured by their own intense value judgement. Hence they constantly condemned polygamy, the institution of the royal graves and raiding, among numerous other practices, with no inkling of their significance in the Lozi structure. Coillard also never seems to have properly grasped the interplay of political forces at work. He was, for instance, blind to the political significance of Lewanika's measures to suppress witchcraft and witch-finders. The king's move against the Mbunda medicine men and diviners was seen as an indication that 'God has inclined his heart towards the Gospel'.⁸³ The missionaries never ceased to be surprised at the fact that Lewanika refused to become a convert.⁸⁴ Coillard could not understand what appeared to him as mutually contradictory tendencies; on the one hand, a laudable desire to reform manners and morals, and on the other, the resuscitation of a 'pagan' form of monarchy. To Lewanika there was, of course, no contradiction but the missionaries looked to the colonial administration to bring about the changes necessary for Christianity to prosper.⁸⁵

While missionary influence thus grew weaker, other European forces took on an alarming strength. From 1895, a number of bullying and boasting prospectors began to enter the country without the king's permission.⁸⁶ Fears that they would provoke war in order to seize the country were rife. The example of the downfall of the Matebele was not lost upon the Lozi - Lobengula's brother sought refuge with Lewanika following the failure of the 1896 Matebele rebellion⁸⁷ - and Davit's threat to invite military intervention all helped to strengthen Lozi apprehension. News of the truncation of Lozi territory by the boundary agreements between Britain, Germany and Portugal began to filter through. In 1895, Lewanika discovered the Portuguese were in the process of

⁸² A. Jalla, Lealui, 30 May 1904. M. G. Volla, 'Coillard's Last Days', *News from Barotseland*, 1903-5.

⁸³ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold*, p. 376.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁸⁵ Editorial comment. *News from Barotseland* No. 9, July 1900.

⁸⁶ Lewanika to Dr Jameson, 3 July 1895. Encl. 1 and 3 in no. 128, F.O. Con. 6784. Also Coillard to Dr Jameson, 4 July 1895. Enc 4 in no. 128, F.O. Con. 6784.

⁸⁷ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 186.

occupying a western portion of his kingdom across the Zambezi. In October 1896, Goold Adams arrived on a mission to ascertain the limits of Lewanika's kingdom in preparation for the boundary settlement between the British and Portuguese spheres.⁸⁸ Unaware of the Anglo-Portuguese Agreements of 1891 and 1893 which had resulted in a provisional boundary dividing his kingdom along the Zambezi and Kabompo Rivers between the Portuguese and British spheres of influence, Lewanika wrote to the Portuguese commandant at Kakege in March 1895 protesting against the occupation of his territory by the Portuguese and claiming that he had since 1890 placed the whole of his kingdom under the Queen's protection.⁸⁹ On 22 October 1896, on the basis of what Goold Adams had told him, Lewanika wrote to both the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, and to the Queen protesting against any division of his country between the Portuguese and the Germans:

I will be glad if the Government separates me from the Portuguese. They will steal my land. . . . I would like your Government to rule all my country and to save my people. I do not wish my country to be divided into two parts between Portugal and Germany. It must be in one part under England. . . . The Government must carry me as a woman carries a child upon her back. This is my prayer. My Lord, save me.⁹⁰

Lewanika's anxiety was far from eased by the absence of any official communication from the British Government. In the letters quoted above, he enquired why there had been no direct answer to them. He also made the same complaint to Goold Adams who professed to have been sent by the British Government.⁹¹ He sensed a real danger of being abandoned to the forces now closing upon him. In July 1895 Lewanika had sent pleas to the High Commissioner for replies to his letters to the British Government: 'No one cares for my welfare and the welfare of my people.'⁹² In the absence of any sign of

⁸⁸ Goold Adams to F.O., 24 August 1897. No. 35 in F.O. Con. 7010. Goold Adams to Lord Rosemead, Lealui, 21 October 1896. Encl. II in no. 38, F.O. Con. 6968 (F.O. 403/245). Goold Adams to F.O., 28 November 1896. No. 65 in F.O. Con. 6968 (F.O. 403/245).

⁸⁹ Lewanika to the Commandant of the Portuguese Forces encamped at Kakege's in the Lovale. Encl. II in 107, F.O. Con. 6911.

⁹⁰ Lewanika to H. Robinson, 22 October 1896. Encl. II in no. 96, C.O. to F.O., 2 April 1897 in 6968 (F.O. 403/245). Also Lewanika to the Queen, 22 October 1896. Encl. III in same.

⁹¹ Goold Adams to Lord Rosemead, 21 October 1896. Encl. II in no. 38, F.O. Con. 6968 (F.O. 403/245).

⁹² Lewanika to Loch, 3 July 1895. Encl. I in no. 176 of F.O. Con. 6784. C.O. to F.O. 6 December 1895.

Imperial protection and faced by the threat of an unregulated invasion of white prospectors, Lewanika turned to the B.S.A. Company. In alarm at the situation, Lewanika, for the first time, formally acknowledged the Lochner Concession and wrote to Dr Jameson:

Didn't the Company agree that 'the country would not be thrown open for immigration without the consent of the king and his people'? I hear that some intend to penetrate into my country and cross the river at different places, but hasn't the Company agreed that 'it will only enter my territory by the drift known as Kazungula, others being used only with my consent'? Does the Company not intend to keep the Agreement?⁹³

In Matebeleland, the white occupation had been heralded by a mounting war fever, particularly among the young warriors (*amatjaha*) who persistently sought Lobengula's leave to massacre all the whites in the country and to attack the pioneer column.⁹⁴ However, in Bulozi the mood was far from belligerent. A series of natural disasters swept the country between 1895 and 1898.⁹⁵ In 1895 there was great famine which nearly compelled the missionaries to close their stations and send the people away. This was followed in early 1896 by an outbreak of rinderpest and cattle plague that raged till 1898. Locusts and drought prolonged the famine of the previous year, and December 1896 brought extraordinary floods which damaged the crops and protracted famine conditions. In November 1897, there was an outbreak of influenza: 'In all the courtyards, bodies stretched out, panting men, women and children coughing, feverish, suffering from hunger.' The king himself was taken gravely ill and there were fears as to whether he would recover. On his recovery he was greeted by the entire male population with cries of joy. Meanwhile, famine continued and in Batoka and Sesheke people were dying of hunger. Thus, with a frightened, sick and famished nation the political excitement which had marked the signing of the Lochner Treaty in 1890 was absent in 1898.

Once Lewanika had formally acknowledged the Lochner Treaty

⁹³ Lewanika to Dr Jameson. Undated. Encl. I in no. 128 of F.O. Con. 6784. Also Encl. III in same. Lewanika to Dr Jameson, 3 July 1895.

⁹⁴ M. Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*, Macmillan & Co., London 1926, pp. 138, 143.

⁹⁵ 'The Chronicle of Barotseland', *News from Barotseland* No. 4, April 1899. Jalla to Boegner, 30 November 1897, Paris. Also F. Coillard, *The Valley of the Upper Zambezi*, May 1898. A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, pp. 172 and 208.

and agreed to the Lawley Concession which granted even more extensive rights to the Company, the way was clear for the 1900 Agreement, which was a modified version of both the Lochner and Lawley Concessions.

A study of the circumstances surrounding the granting of the 1898 Lawley Concession is instructive. Lewanika acted from a much stronger internal position than in 1890. In 1889-90 he had been under strong pressure from the Lozi traditionalists and the Mbunda medicine men and their followers who were opposed to the admission of the Europeans. By the late 1890s Lewanika was much more firmly in the saddle having succeeded in rendering the opposition forces ineffectual. He had begun hitting at the Mbunda medicine men as early as 1892 when he found they turned their divinatory cult against him. During the critical period between 1895 and 1898, the Mbunda were still active, but chose to point their bones not at the king, but rather at the whites on whom they blamed all the natural disasters: 'Either our gods are angry or the whiteman's God is bringing evil upon you. Better have nothing to do with them.' Lewanika, instead of heeding their warnings, had two medicine men, on 5 February 1897, arrested and publicly humiliated. Mockingly, he asked them to tell him the cause of the national disasters, then broke up all their divinatory instruments and completed their humiliation by sentencing them to ten days' hard labour.⁹⁶ Following this incident, Lewanika forbade accusation by witchcraft on pain of punishment.

Similarly, Lewanika asserted his ascendancy over the traditionalist Indunas to whom he owed his position and victory in 1885. During the 1895-8 period, the traditionalist party showed increasing signs of alarm and renewed activity.⁹⁷ Missionaries who looked upon this faction as the 'Pagan Party' remarked in December 1896 on the revival of 'paganism'. Though not prepared for a direct and open conflict, Lewanika was determined to show the Indunas that he was their king. In April 1895 Coillard remarked on the growth of royal pretensions: 'Royal pretensions grow greater from day to day, and in a startling manner.'⁹⁸

In June 1896, Lewanika took the unprecedented step of making

⁹⁶ A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 87, and *Pionniers*, p. 207.

⁹⁷ See notes 55-7 above.

⁹⁸ F. Coillard, *Sur le Haut Zambèze*, p. 628.

Indunas answerable to him in court for their crimes after one Induna, Matindo, was tried and deprived of his herd of cattle for committing murder.⁹⁹ In October 1896, Lewanika set up a police force at Lealui to enhance his prestige and increase his personal security. One of the police duties was to control admission to the royal Kwandu.¹⁰⁰ Then came the final humiliation of the Makwambuyu. In February 1897, Jalla reported that on visiting the capital he found the Ngambela and the other Makwambuyu kneeling on the bench for persons accused of crime in the full heat of the sun. This was supposedly a punishment for having neglected the king's words. Jalla's view was that: 'It was evident that Lewanika was at the bottom of this. No one was there to recall that thanks to Ngambela, Lewanika came into power in 1885.'¹⁰¹ Having made his point and made plain his mastery, Lewanika then ordered the dignitaries' release. In September 1898, the traditionalists suffered a severe blow with the death of the old Ngambela, Mwauluka. Lewanika was quick to seize the opportunity. He deliberately passed over the senior and old Indunas and chose instead Mukamba, an inexperienced young man of about thirty five, as the new Ngambela. It was clear he wished to free himself from the control of the old 'aristocracy' by filling this important post with a man completely dependent upon his favour. Lewanika's explanation to the missionaries for the appointment of Mukamba was that he was a Christian 'whose mind was open to progress'.¹⁰²

Lewanika further strengthened his control over the key state offices at the end of 1899 when he dismissed a number of his senior Indunas, including the then Mukulwakashiko, ostensibly on the grounds of their failure to observe his prohibition of the use of intoxicating drinks.¹⁰³ One of the new appointees was again an Evangelist pupil.

In this fashion Lewanika was in a far stronger position in 1898 and 1900 and could deal with the whites as master in his own house.

It is noticeable that the procedures for obtaining Lozi assent

⁹⁹ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 186.

¹⁰⁰ A. Jalla, *Lewanika, Roi des Barotsi*, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 206.

¹⁰² Jalla to Boegner, Lwatile, 21 February (?) 1899.

¹⁰³ *News from Barotseland* No. 9, July 1900. Lewanika's fight against intoxicating drinks (*bucwala*) and drunkenness went back to 1889, according to A. Jalla. In 1895 he is reported to have compelled the old Ngambela Mwauluka to take an oath in public in the Kuta, never to touch *bucwala*. A. Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 87.

differed widely in 1890 and 1900. In 1890 for the Lochner Concession it was found necessary to summon all the national representatives from the capital and the provinces, and when their assent was obtained, the document itself was signed by no less than thirty-nine Indunas, excluding Lewanika and his son Litia.¹⁰⁴ In 1900 only twenty-seven Indunas of the capital were present, while the actual concessions were signed by eight people only, excluding the witnesses. The signatories were a small group of people bound to the king by high office and kinship.¹⁰⁵

Another factor weakening the power of the traditionalists and preventing organised resistance to the establishment of colonial administration was the gulf between the Lozi aristocracy and the majority of the population. As already seen, the reforms of restoration introduced by Lewanika accentuated the group tensions even more. On October 1893 there were reports that there had been 'an insurrection amongst the slaves of Sesheke against their chiefs'.¹⁰⁶ In the same year Lewanika was compelled to decree that all the Lozi, as opposed to non-Lozi and other, conquered groups, were 'free' and exempt from slavery.¹⁰⁷ The Lozi aristocracy were consistently opposed to any surrender of internal sovereignty on grounds both of principle and self-interest. Colonial rule was bound to affect their privileged position by making Lewanika less dependent on their support. The serf population, on the other hand, could look forward to emancipation from the onerous services exacted from them by

¹⁰⁴ Lochner to Harris, Lealui, 27 June 1890. C.T. 1/4/5 (N.A.R.). Also encl. in no. 317. Secretary of the B.S.A. Co. to the Imperial Secretary, 5 September 1890. C.O. Confidential Prints no. 392 (B 5/2/4). A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 38. Jalla includes a sketch of the sitting order of national and provincial representatives at the negotiations.

¹⁰⁵ M. Hole, Administration North Western Rhodesia, B.S.A. Co. Administrator's Office, Bulawayo, 7 December 1900. L.O. 5/7/5, folio 47 (N.A.R.). Signatories are identified as: 'Lewanika; his eldest son, the prime minister; the consort of the elder Magwaai; the consort of the second Magwaai; the prime minister of Nalolo; the second and third Indunas of the country.' Included among the five witnesses were the first and second of the king's household Indunas i.e. Likombwa, and a Basuto interpreter.

R. T. Coryndon to the High Commissioner, Cape Town, 29 December 1900. 'Lewanika Concession'. Encl. I in no. 10, *African (South)*, 659, pp. 16-22.

Later Coryndon explained reasons for the procedure adopted in 1900. It would have been very difficult, however, to do the same in 1890 without causing serious trouble. Coryndon to B.S.A. Co., 28 June 1901. Encl. I in no. 261, *African (South)*, 659, p. 383.

¹⁰⁶ The Journal of Arthur Baldwin, 11 October 1893. N/T 11 (Methodist Missionary Society, London).

¹⁰⁷ Jalla, *Litaba*, 1959, p. 88.

the Lozi aristocracy.¹⁰⁸ A clause in the Lochner Concession later repeated by Lewanika in 1898 and 1900 promised 'to continue in my endeavours for the suppression of slavery and witchcraft in my country, and will assist the Company in their efforts for the same object'.¹⁰⁹

The arrival of the first British resident, Major R. T. Coryndon, in 1897 clearly disturbed 'class' relations in Bulozhi by arousing widespread anticipation that emancipation was imminent. According to Jalla, the aristocracy responded by a determined effort to entrench and strengthen their privileges. Before the arrival of Coryndon, they began to 'stockpile' slaves in anticipation of restrictive measures to follow, and planned numerous raids on the Toka, Totela, Mashukulumbwe and Mankoya.¹¹⁰ At the main reception for the resident held at Lealui on 25 October 1897, Coryndon explained to the Lozi the purpose for his presence in Bulozhi as a representative of both the Queen and the British South Africa Company. He went on to conclude that he had not come to spoil the king's relations with his subjects, nor to interfere in their internal affairs. The country would continue to belong to the king, since no one had bought it as they had feared. Coryndon's speech was interpreted word for word for the Indunas and chiefs in the Kuta by Jalla. However, when Lewanika instructed the Sambi of Nalolo to repeat the principal points of the address to the people assembled outside the Kuta, the social conflicts underlying the situation were once more brought to the fore. The Sambi ignored everything else and simply told the people that slaves were to remain slaves and to continue to obey their masters. 'Neither our laws nor our customs have changed. You are still our slaves, you still owe us obedience - woe to whoever baulks at this.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Numba Luhamba (a Luvala slave): captured and brought to Bulozhi in the 1892 war against the Luvala. Separated from her mother who was away in the fields when the Lozi struck, Numba came to Bulozhi with her elder sister. In Bulozhi she was a play companion and servant to her master's young daughter. Numba was liberated before the formal declaration in 1906 when Lewanika discovered that Numba's master was trying to send her to the capital as a maid to the royal household instead of his own daughter. Numba married into a Lozi family and has a large family and is completely 'Lozied'.

Katukula Muchima (a Kaonde slave); Village: Muchima; Silalo: Sinumuyambi. Katukula's grandfather and his young children were captured by the Lozi during Lewanika's reign and brought to Bulozhi. Interviewed October 1968.

¹⁰⁹ This clause was rather significantly omitted in Lewanika's copy of the Lochner Concession.

¹¹⁰ A. Jalla, Report to the Zambezi Conference, 28 September 1897, Paris. A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, pp. 223ff.

¹¹¹ A. Jalla, *Pionniers*, p. 236.

Jalla recorded how disappointed were the large number of slaves who had come to the capital expecting the emancipation declaration. However, it was known that British law did not recognise slavery, and although they did not interfere with it directly in Bulozi until the emancipation proclamation of 1906, they did everything to discourage it. In August 1904, when the Administrator visited Lealui, he stressed the point that British law did not recognise slavery and that if a slave escaped from his master into the region under direct British administration (i.e. the eastern part of the country bounded by the Kafue River) he would not be restored but regarded as liberated. According to Jalla: 'This news fell on the chiefs like a funeral knell.'¹¹²

With the aristocracy and the slaves so directly opposed to each other in their attitudes to colonial rule, it is easy to see why a united movement of resistance failed to materialise.

Finally, the gradual character of colonial encroachment was important also in determining the relationship between the B.S.A. Company and the Ma Lozi. For seven years, the Company failed to follow up the Lochner Concession so that it hardly appeared to pose an effective and immediate threat to the Lozi State. When at last a British resident arrived, the colonial power still looked peaceful and conciliatory. The Company by this time was in fact in no position to take aggressive action. The Jameson Raid and the Matebele and Mashona rebellions had brought it to the nadir of its fortunes, and the Boer War quickly followed. The Imperial Government was anxious to ensure no other conflicts should occur and insisted that the B.S.A. Company employ only pacific means in opening up its sphere north of the Zambezi.¹¹³

Apart from the Imperial Government's expressed desire to avoid further conflict with the African states, Company policy was influenced by the recognition that Bulozi itself was of little economic value¹¹⁴ and that geographically it lay well to the flank of the direct line of Cecil Rhodes's Cape-to-Cairo railroad.

As a result of all these factors, it was therefore possible to negotiate a solution that appeared to leave the Lozi a large measure of autonomy in the valley. The Company was content to concentrate economic development and direct European administration in regions which had never been more than loosely under Lozi control.

¹¹² *News from Barotseland*, May 1905; also January 1905.

¹¹³ F.O. to C.O., 10 November 1897. No. 70 in F.O. Con. 7010.

¹¹⁴ Coryndon to B.S.A. Co., 24 January 1901. Encl. III in no. 33 *African (South)*, 659, p. 54.

Epilogue

To carry this study up to Lewanika's death in 1916 would be to go beyond its boundaries: by that date the Colonial era had not only arrived but its effects on the Lozi traditional structure were already substantial. Nevertheless, a few words must be said to finish a story otherwise left a little in mid-air.

The situation in 1900 appeared as something of a triumph for Lewanika. He had gained unprecedented control over internal politics. He was much less dependent than formerly upon the missionaries. His economic position was as favourable as it had ever been. It was on the basis of this triumph that Lewanika was able to negotiate a settlement with the British South Africa Company and the British Government as master in his own house.

Although in the Concession of 1900 Lewanika was compelled to do a deal with the long suspected Company rather than directly with the British Government, and although in many respects the 1900 Concession which was based on the 1898 Lawley Concession was worse for Lewanika than the Lochner Treaty of 1890, he seemed to have gained terms which were more favourable than any other Central African ruler's. Lewanika's request for an area for the exclusive use of the Lozi and to be reserved from prospecting and white settlement, was included in the 1900 Concession. Thus Bulozo 'proper' was saved for the Lozi although its western section was still assigned to the Portuguese sphere of influence through the *modus vivendi* which set the Zambezi River as the provisional boundary. Lewanika, however, hoped that the British Government would finally redeem all his territory when finally the settlement was

reached with the Portuguese.¹ He also hoped for the ultimate inclusion of this territory on the west bank of the Zambezi into the reserved area. On 18 October 1900, the day after the Concession was signed, Lewanika wrote a formal request to the Company asking for an area on the west bank (beyond the *modus vivendi* boundary) 'from Letemboe a tributary of Lungwebunga along Luanginga to Loowe, then Kutee (Kwito) to Kwando and Kazungula' to be added to the reserve.²

In June 1901 the directors of the B.S.A. Company made their views with regard to the territory west of the Zambezi quite clear in a letter to the Colonial Office. Their explanation was that they intended to give it for the exclusive use of the Lozi and exclude it from prospecting.³

The Company agreed further to 'aid and assist in education and economic advancement of Bulozi'.

The missionaries testified to the great and growing power of Lewanika within Bulozi.⁴ To Lewanika himself the invitation to the Coronation ceremonies of King Edward in 1902 marked the symbolic climax of his career. When Coillard asked Lewanika what he would say when he met King Edward in London, the Lozi king's reply summed up his mood of triumph and confidence: 'When kings are seated together, there is never a lack of things to discuss.'⁵

Soon, however, the contradictions inherent in the situation revealed themselves and began to work themselves out. Lewanika's great achievement began to fall apart.

In the first place by the Order in Council of 1899, Lewanika and the Lozi State had lost their sovereignty to the Queen and Her Majesty's Government. No evidence has come to light to suggest that at the time Lewanika was formally told of the Order in Council and of its significance to him as king and to the Lozi State.⁶ But the Colonial Office informed the British South Africa Company of this in very clear and direct terms. The Order superseded the Lawley

¹ Coryndon to B.S.A. Co., 28 June 1901. *African (South)*, 659, no. 261 Encl. 1, Section 9.

² Lewanika's letter of 18 October 1900. *African (South)*, 659, no. 33, Encl. in encl. 3.

³ Directors of B.S.A. Co. to the Colonial Office, 29 June 1901, *African (South)*, 659, no. 261, p. 382.

⁴ Coillard to Friends of the Barotsse Mission, Lealui, January 6 1902. *News from Barotseland* No. 15, May 1902, p. 8.

⁵ E. Favre, *Francois Coillard Missionnaire au Zambeze, 1882-1904*, Paris 1913, p. 501.

⁶ The first reference to Lewanika and the need to explain to him the Order in Council appears in the Colonial Office letter to the Company of 17 June 1901, *African (South)*, 659, no. 235, p. 343.

Concession, and through it Lewanika's negotiations and his Concessions were 'operative so far as they are ratified by Her Majesty or are not inconsistent with the Order in Council'.⁷

In the second place Company rule, once established, steadily ate away at Lewanika's power inside Bulozhi and he suffered humiliation after humiliation and made protest after vain protest.⁸

Furthermore this operation of Company power had an even greater - and from Lewanika's point of view, graver - effect on the economic and social structure of Bulozhi which since his return to power in 1885, Lewanika had striven to reconstruct and maintain. Slavery, tribute labour and tribute were abolished and instead paid labour and taxation were introduced. The missionaries observed the changes and the influence they brought on the society and the state. They also pointed out that the instrument of the changes in Bulozhi was no more Lewanika but the 'new Government which has become the instrument of new transformations'.⁹

The king and the Lozi aristocracy as a whole sustained great economic loss through the new reforms. The proportion of the tax revenue allotted to the king was inadequate compensation.¹⁰ Gradually, moreover, the abolition of slavery and tribute labour affected the complex agricultural economy of the Plain, making it difficult to carry out public works and to keep up the full round of agricultural activities.

Finally, there was no chance of finding an alternative means of maintaining prosperity. The communications and industrial training centres promised by the Company did not materialise.¹¹ Barotseland became a backwater, cut off from the areas of economic advancement.

⁷ Colonial Office to B.S.A. Co., 8 May 1900, *African (South)*, 656, no. 65.

⁸ Eric Stokes, 'Barotseland: the Survival of an African State', *The Zambesian Past*, Manchester University Press 1966, pp. 261-301.

⁹ Conference Report from Dr Von de Prosch, Sesheke, May 1905. *News from Barotseland*, October 1905. Coillard reports on the changes in the Lozi society as young men are attracted to the mines: Sesheke 1901 in *News from Barotseland* No. 14, February 1902, p. 14.

For a summary of new reforms see: Results of the Administrator's visit to Lealui, August 1904. *News from Barotseland*, January 1905, p. 3.

¹⁰ This economic dilemma is well summed up and clearly illustrated in the application for an increased subsidy by the Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo. 1927 Series B/1/1.

¹¹ As late as 1962 the Lozi were still pressing for the fulfilment of economic promises made in the 1900 Treaty. Sir Mwanawina III, the Litunga, then wrote: 'With regards to our economic status we believe that Barotseland would prosper if all the obligations. . . from the treaty were fulfilled.' Sir Mwanawina's letter, Lealui, 23 September 1962; Appendix to Report by R. S. Hudson, 1962 (N.A.Z.).

None the less, what Barotseland did gain was some educational advantage. After his return from the Coronation Lewanika, even more openly than before, became the advocate and patron of modern education. The Paris Evangelical Mission had been running schools in Bulozi since 1886. Lewanika, however, was not satisfied with their efforts and from about 1898 to 1906 he welcomed a new additional group to provide more education for his people. These were the Ethiopians introduced and led in Bulozi by the former Paris Mission evangelist Willie Mokalapa, originally from Basutoland (Lesotho). In his correspondence with Lewanika, Mokalapa revealed what his group hoped to offer:

I have found missionaries for the school we talked about. . . . These baruti [teachers] are blacks, they are very intelligent and highly educated, their desire is to teach the other blacks everything that can be learnt, the boruti, science, applied arts. . . .¹²

In June 1905 Coryndon, the former Resident in Bulozi and at the time the Administrator for North - Western Rhodesia, wrote to the Secretary of the British South Africa Company that the Ethiopians' great claim to recognition and support by Lewanika was the affirmation that they would be prepared to give the Barotse better technical education than could be obtained from the French missionaries.¹³

Neither the new administration nor the Paris Evangelical Missionaries wanted to see the Ethiopians established permanently in Bulozi; it was thought one of the ways to check their 'machinations' was for the Company and the P.M.S. to provide the necessary education.¹⁴

The P.M.S. believed that the appeal of the Ethiopians was their offer of better teaching in English. In response to this challenge the P.M.S. founded a school of English.¹⁵ Similarly the government considered seriously a means of meeting some of the Lozi demands for education. They considered the establishment of a Trust Fund, especially for education.¹⁶ In 1907 the Barotse Government in

¹² The letter was brought to Coillard by Lewanika to be read for him and the P.M.S. missionaries for the first time became aware of the imminent competition. Coillard, 6 November 1900, *News from Barotseland* No. 12, April 1901.

¹³ Coryndon, Administrator, to Secretary, B.S.A. Co., London, 6 June 1905, File A 3/3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *News from Barotseland* No. 22, May 1904.

¹⁶ Barotse Trust Fund, June 1905 to June 1909. N.W.R. A 3/3 (N.A.Z.).

conjunction with the British South Africa Company established and opened the Barotse National School. The P.M.S. on the other hand increased their educational efforts and until the late 1920s bore the main task of providing education in Bulozhi.

Since early education was restricted primarily to the aristocracy, Lewanika and his immediate successors were able, by absorbing the newly educated into the traditional systems, to improve the efficiency of the Lozi bureaucracy, and by continuing to use young aristocrats, to ensure its resistance to change.

Others besides the aristocracy, however, slowly began to achieve education. As the numbers of the educated, who in the traditional system were under-privileged, grew, the limited opportunities for them as clerks and teachers in Bulozhi soon became too few and they were increasingly forced to leave and seek work elsewhere. This category of people were the first to challenge both the traditional society which had so little use for them despite their education, and the colonial system which supported that traditional society.

The friction and disillusionment arising from these developments do not belong to this study, but they need to be mentioned since it was these which ultimately were drastically to modify that part of the traditional structure which Lewanika had managed to preserve and project into the Colonial period.

Appendix

Chronology of the Lozi before the middle of the nineteenth century

In a recent survey of the problems of constructing relative chronologies for African history¹ it is clearly shown with what caution one ought to proceed. The rules are clearly stated; first-class fieldwork is essential and material must be subjected to rigorous and sophisticated internal criticism to detect any major chronological distortions.

It is with great hesitation then that I attempt to present a relative chronology for the Lozi State, no matter how tentative. In this study any data relating to chronology was collected not as a result of a special chronological inquiry but as part of the general problem of the whole history of Buluzi. On the other hand, the data thus collected could not be subjected to any rigorous internal criticism because of its very limited nature and in the absence of any comprehensive data for chronological reconstruction from the several but highly decentralised neighbours of the Lozi.

In this study, for the period before the mid-nineteenth century I have had to rely almost entirely on a temporal framework based on king lists and royal genealogies of one dynasty. There are no significant archaeological dates established so far, no traditionally remembered celestial occurrences which go far enough back in time, and contemporary documentation by Arabs, Portuguese and other European travellers and missionaries known to exist so far is limited to the nineteenth century and after.

There are virtually no contemporary written records for the

¹ Problems of African Chronology, *The Journal of African History*, xi, No. 2 1970.

history of the Lozi before the middle of the nineteenth century. A major advantage of written sources is that they normally provide definite dates for past events, which in oral tradition are merely fitted into a general relative chronology. It is on this relative chronology that one has to rely almost entirely for the study of Lozi history before the nineteenth century.

In narratives of Lozi history, a temporal sequence is always sought by dividing events and periods according to successive reigns. It is interesting to note in passing that although most of my informants did not know the dates of their birth, each of them knew and remembered the reign during which he was born. The detailed genealogical records of the royal family, both on the basis of father to son and of successive kings, which are preserved in oral tradition, provide the principal means of placing known historical events in a time perspective.

Kingship is the central institution among the Lozi. Their political system under the present dynasty has always been centralised in the sense of having a territory-wide organisation directly subordinate to the king. Similarly, in both the economic and social structures of Lozi society, the king is the central figure.² Because of this central position of the kingship, traditions of the kings and of the royal family are better known than those of any other group in the country.

There are also several other reasons for the better preservation and survival of royal traditions. Firstly, in Bulozhi, history is an essential part of the continued existence of the position of the royal family: it reinforces the mystique of kingship and sustains its power. Secondly, history defines the ruling group and limits the number of claimants to the kingship. One of the rules of succession requires proof of direct descent from the ancestress Mbuyu through the male line. Thus, as late as 1903, Lewanika still felt it necessary to swear in an affidavit that he was a direct descendant of Mboo, the son of Mbuyu.³ Finally, it is significant to realise that the establishment and hence the kingship itself, provides the formal means of preserving and transmitting history within the nation. The institution of the royal graves, for instance, perpetuates the histories of individual kings, as well as that of the nation as a whole.⁴

² See Chapters 2 and 3 above.

³ Affidavit by Lewanika as to genealogy of kings of Barotseland. N.A.Z. K.D.E. 2/44/14. 5
June 1903.

⁴ See Note 13, p. 222 below.

For these reasons the history of the Lozi kingship is widely known and often accepted as the history of the nation as a whole.

The origins of the Lozi kingship, according to tradition, go back to the time of Mboo, alias Muyunda, or Mwana Silundu.⁵ Mboo is acknowledged as the founder of the present Luyi dynasty. Prior to Mboo, it is said there was no effectively centralised kingship, though his mother, Mbuyu, was a recognised figurehead. Mbuyu, under a certain amount of pressure from her people, abdicated in favour of her eldest son Mboo.⁶ Once Mboo had succeeded to the kingship, most of the basic characteristics of the Lozi kingship were introduced: the tribute system, Makolo divisions, and Indunaships, among others.⁷ The traditional history of the Lozi shows a process of change and evolution of the Lozi kingship and society which goes back to Mboo.

It should be possible to check and supplement Lozi royal genealogies and succession tables in a number of ways. First of all, the burial sites of individual past rulers are testimony to their former existence.⁸

It was not possible to visit each and every royal grave site in Bulozhi in the course of this study, but all sites mentioned are known and identified by numbers of people in Bulozhi. Their locations are also carefully recorded in the various District Note Books of the districts where they are.⁹ Unfortunately, kings who died in exile have no graves in Bulozhi, although one, Sipopa, was given a symbolic grave at Nalwenge near Katongo. Also graves of unpopular rulers are less cared for and do not feature in national rituals to the same extent as those of popular, successful and benevolent rulers. It is possible,

⁵ Jalla, *Litaba*. Sikota Akufuna typescript. This is a very well-known tradition throughout Bulozhi.

⁶ *Ibid.* Also an account by Mulena Mukwae Makwibi, ruler at Nalolo since July 1959. Daughter of the late Litunga Sir Mwanawina III, born 1919. She was Mulena Mboanjikana of Libonda from January 1951-9.

⁷ Table of origin of office titles and kings who created them by G. Clay in *Mongu-Lealui Tour Report*, No.2, 1939 (N.A.Z.). Ishee Kwandu Sikota Akufuna, pp. 1-3 unpublished typescript. Thomas Mwandawande Mwikisa Muwindwa, born 1902; village: Monga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi. V/Headman Mwandawande (as above). Teacher from 1925-63. Mwandawande is a courtly title originally bestowed on his maternal uncle in recognition of his support for Lewanika Lubosi in the 1884-5 Revolution. As a teacher he has worked in many parts of Bulozhi. A much-respected man, with a considerable knowledge of Lozi traditions. He speaks Siluyana fluently.

⁸ List of Litino (royal graves) in N.A.Z. K.D.E. 10/1 Mongu District Note Book, i, p. 436. Both Jalla (*Litaba*) and Sikota Akufuna (typescript) mention burial places of each ruler in their record of traditions.

⁹ N.A.Z. District Note Books K.D.E. 10/1 and K.D.E. 10/2. See also: N.A.Z. K.D.E. 2/44/4a. Senanga District: Villages and Places of Note.

therefore, that some grave sites may have been disregarded altogether. There are also a few grave sites which are tended and accorded rituals similar to those of former kings and yet those buried there are said to have been mere princes or commoners of distinction.¹⁰ The possibility then of such a grave site being ultimately included with those of kings cannot be ruled out.

Another way of checking and supplementing the royal genealogies is to invoke the genealogies and histories of other titles within Bulozzi, which claim a relationship with the central kingship. For instance, the southern chieftaincy at Nalolo has an independent succession table which can provide a valuable comparison.¹¹ In addition to the Nalolo chieftaincy, all the titles of the Indunas have histories and each title is directly linked to the king who created it.¹² Titles were, however, not always restricted to one family. In such cases it is not possible to obtain office histories as comprehensive as those of the kingship, although some titles like those of the Ngambela and Natamoyo claim antiquity of equal standing to that of the king.

The Neighbouring Peoples

As with Lozi history in general, traditions of the neighbouring peoples could be used to complement Lozi accounts of their royal genealogy. Some groups like the Nkoya have not only traditions about the Lozi going back to the founding of the present Lozi dynasty, but invariably claim a common ancestry.¹³ Groups of the

¹⁰ E.g. Graves of Mwanambinyi at Imatongo near Senanga Boma, Isimwaa near Lukona in Kalabo District and Nolea at Mabumbu.

¹¹ The Southern and Northern Succession lists were provided by Kumoyo Akende and Sianga Nayoya, in addition to the list by Jalla. These were included in a text of oral traditions which was presented with the original thesis on which this work is based, *Texts of Lozi Oral Traditions*.

¹² For office titles and the kings who created them, table by G. Clay in *Mongu-Lealui Tour Report*, 2 1939 (N.A.Z.).

¹³ Mwene Kahare Kabambi Timuna, born 1921; interviewed 27 April 1964; Litoya Kuta (Mankoya). Mwene Kahare from 1952. First acted for his father who died in 1954. Before he became Mwene, he worked in the Regiment and then became a messenger at Mankoya Boma from 1947-52.

Present during the interview were: Mwana Mulena Jabisha Miyengo, born 1914; cousin to Mwene Kahare and occupies second place to the Ngambela.

Paison Ngambeya, born 1928; he is the chief drummer of Mwene Kahare.

Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila, born after Lewanika returned from exile in Mashi (1885). Interviewed 21 April 1964. (He said Sihoka was a friend of Mbuyu.) Son of Mwene Mutondo Shiwowa; Boma messenger 1918-20; worked for the prison service for twenty-nine years; 1949 succeeded his nephew, who was deposed, as Mwene Mutondo. Comments: a ready and interested informant. Spoke from a prepared manuscript in the presence of his Indunas. Showed me his regalia.

Mbunda in the west record contacts with the Lozi as far back as Yeta I.¹⁴ Such contacts are normally recorded in terms of the Lozi kings with whom contact was made. In this way, testimony is given from outside to the historical existence of a number of Lozi kings.

Unfortunately, very little so far is known of the histories of some of the neighbours of the Lozi. Moreover, unlike the Lozi, almost all surrounding peoples lacked centralisation. Indeed, the high degree of decentralisation among these groups has influenced the nature of their histories. These rarely embrace the tribe as a whole and do not go as far back in time or have the same consistency and detail as the Lozi histories. Much study of the surrounding people is necessary before the full value of their traditions in complementing those of the Lozi can be realised.

Genealogies

It has already been shown that within Bulozi the royal genealogies and the order of successive reigns are well preserved and remembered. The Lozi as a whole are familiar with and proud of the history of the kingship, and a large number of people have some knowledge of the royal genealogies and succession order. Among my main informants there was a high degree of consistency and similarity in recalling the names of past kings and the order of succession. These in turn were almost identical to genealogies in contemporary written works on the Lozi, a fact less startling when it is realised that these were in turn based on oral tradition.¹⁵

The earliest written history of the Lozi people and record of the generations and reigns of the royal family is by the pioneer missionary Adolphe Jalla. His *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi* was first published in 1909. Jalla's genealogy and order of succession of the Lozi kings is of particular interest since his work, which was done under the strict supervision of Lewanika, clearly represents the understanding of the king and his family of the dynasty's succession and genealogy.¹⁶

The fullest recorded genealogy of the Luyi dynasty is in the Barotse Provincial Note Book.¹⁷ This was compiled in the 1930s by

¹⁴ Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu u Amuhela bo Mwene*, Macmillan 1958, p. 1.

¹⁵ See following Luyana succession tables and a generation table of the Luyana dynasty, pp. 215-16.

¹⁶ Lewanika's control over Jalla's work was confirmed by Miss G. Jalla in an interview at her home in Torre Pellice (Italy) and the Rev. J. P. Burger who knew and worked with Rev. Jalla for many years in Bulozi.

Paramount Chief Yeta, members of the royal family and the Kuta, with the aid of the British Colonial Administration, for the purpose of paying allowances to all members of the royal family following the abolition of slavery in 1906 and of tribute and free labour in 1925.¹⁸ The economic as well as political and social significance of this genealogy must have made it the most important to be recorded. The inevitable public interest in it, as well as the vested interests of all members of the royal family, must have acted as strong forces against its falsification. No doubt later scholars recognised this and it may explain their high degree of agreement.¹⁹

Before accepting such information, however, it is necessary to sound a note of caution. The high degree of agreement of the informants might point to the authenticity of their information, or might merely be a result of the successful teaching of a particular version of the kingship tradition.

Secondly, it is clear that when disputed succession occurs, as at the time of the Makololo invasion, consistency in recognition of candidates varies. Some informants include both contestants, Silumelume and Mubukwanu, in the list of kings, while some recognise only one of them or ignore them both.²⁰ This raises suspicion as to whether in the earlier Lozi history there were no serious succession disputes which have resulted in the dropping or inclusion of certain names.

There are numerous additional factors and problems to be considered, as another recent study has clearly shown.²¹ For instance, what historical sense does one make of the legendary ancestresses of the Lozi kings?²² Finally, a royal genealogy for Bulozhi is possible for the period before the nineteenth century because of the assumption by all informants that on the whole filial succession was practised. Is this to be accepted at its face value in view of the absence of clearly defined rules of succession to the Lozi kingship?

¹⁷ N.A.Z. K.D.E. 10/2, *Barotse Provincial Note Book*, ii.

¹⁸ Gervas Clay, *Mongu-Lealui Tour Report*, No.2 1939 (N.A.Z.), p. 3.

¹⁹ For instance, M. Gluckman 'The Genealogy of the Lozi Kings', *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Manchester University Press 1955, p. 8.

²⁰ See following Luyana succession tables.

²¹ David P. Henige, 'Oral Tradition and Chronology', *Journal of African History*, xii, 3, 1971, pp. 37-189.

²² There were some suggestions (very limited) made that the ancestress Mbuyu was the last ruler of an earlier dynasty headed by female rulers.

While bearing these problems in mind, this study provides no definite answers, and all calculations which follow are tentatively based on available evidence only.

Calculation

If the average duration of reigns is calculated on the average reign during the well-dated post-Makololo period, 1864-1968,²³ this works out at fourteen years. The fourteen-year average, however, has to be taken as a rough guide only, bearing in mind the peculiar circumstances of the period: the great instability following the restoration of the Lozi State, for example,²⁴ and the role of the new colonial administration.

On the basis of the fourteen-year average, it would appear that Mbooi's succession was sometime during the late seventeenth century.

The average length of generation was reckoned to be twenty-five years.²⁵ (This is the average taken over the three known generations from Lubosi Lewanika to his grandson. Lubosi was born in 1842, and his eldest son Litia, later Yeta III, was born in 1871. Litia married in church in 1892 and had a son soon after, who died in 1899.) On the basis of a twenty-five-year generation, it would appear that the founders of the present Luyi dynasty lived sometime during the seventeenth century.

New outside sources may be discovered, and equally, it may be possible in future to carry out excavations on ancestral burial sites and early settlement sites, which are still identifiable. But while there is a dearth of such data, one feels that all speculation ought to be limited.

In conclusion, then, the seventeenth century seems the likely period for the founding of the present Luyi dynasty.

²³ See following Luyana dynasty succession and generation tables.

²⁴ See my Chapter 6.

²⁵ See following generation table of the Luyana dynasty.

Luyana Succession Table

	<i>Lyashimba</i> <i>Masherwa Imbula</i>	<i>Max Gluckman</i>	<i>Sikota Akufuna</i>	<i>A. Jalla</i>	<i>Barotse Notebook</i>
	Mbuyu			Mbuyu	Mbuyu
	Mboo Muyunda	Mboo	Mbuyu	Mboo	Mboo
	Inyambo	Inyambo		Inyambo	Inyambo
	Ngalama	Yeta I	Yeta Mwambwa	Yeta I	Yeta I
	Yeta Nalute	Ngalama	Inyambo	Ngalama	Ngalama
	Ngombala	Yeta II	Ngalama	Yeta Nalute	Yeta Nalute
	Yubya Lukama	Ngombala	Yeta Nalute	Ngombala	Ngombala
	Mwanawina	Mwanawina	Ngombala	Yubya	Yubya
	Mwananyanda	Mwananyanda	Yubya	Mwanawina	Mwanawina
	Mulambwa Santulu	Mulambwa (Santulu)	Mwanawina	Mwananyanda Liwale	Mwananyanda
	Silumelume	Silumelume	Mwananyanda	Mulambwa Santulu	Mulambwa
	Mubukwanu	Mubukwanu	Mulambwa	Silumelume	Mubukwanu
1840-1864	Makololo	Makololo	Makololo	Makololo	Makololo
1864-1876	Sipopa Lutangu	Sipopa	Sipopa	Sipopa Lutangu	Sipopa Lutangu
1876-1878	Mwanawina II	Mwanawina II	Mwanawina II	Mwanawina II	Mwanawina
1878-1884	Lubosi	(Lubosi) Lewanika	Lubosi (Lewanika)	Lubosi Lewanika	Lubosi Lewanika
1884-1885	Tatila Akufuna	Tatila Akufuna	Tatila Akufuna	Tatila Akufuna	
1886-1916	Lubosi Lewanika	(Lubosi) Lewanika	Lubosi Lewanika	Lubosi Lewanika	Lubosi Lewanika
1916-1946	Yeta III (Litia)	Yeta III (Litia)	Yeta III (Litia)	Yeta III (Litia)	Yeta III (Litia)
1946-1948	Imwiko	Imwiko	Imwiko	Imwiko	
1948-1968	Mwanawina III	Mwanawina III	Mwanawina III	Mwanawina III	
1968-	Mbikusita	Mbikusita	Mbikusita	Mbikusita	

A Generation Table of the Luyana Dynasty

<i>Barotse Notebook, vol. II</i>	<i>A.Jalla</i>	<i>Sikota Akufuna</i>	<i>M. Gluckman</i>	<i>Akende Nayoya (Nalolo Rulers)</i>
Mbuyu	Mbuyu	Mbuyu	Mbuyu Yeta I	
Mboo	Mboo	Mboo	Mboo	
Inyambo	Inyambo	Yeta	Ingalamwa	
Yeta	Yeta	Inyambo	Inyambo	
Ingalamwa	Ingalamwa	Ingalamwa		
	Mwanambinyi			
Ngalama	Ngalama	Ngalama	Ngalama	
Y eta Nalote	Yeta Nalute	Yeta Nalute	Yeta II	
Mbanga	Ngombala	Ngombala	Ngombala	
Ngombala			Notulu	
Notulu	Notulu	Notulu		Notulu
Mbanga	Mbanga	Mbanga	Mbanga	Mbanga
Y ubya	Yubya	Yubya	Yubya	Y ubya
Nakambe	Mwanawina	Mwanawina	Mwanawina	Nakambe
Mwanamatiya	Nakambe			Mwanamatiya
Yubya				
Mwanawina				
Mwananyanda	Kusiyo	Mulambwa	Mwananyanda	Kusiyo
Mulambwa	Mwananyanda	Mwananyanda	Mulambwa	
	Mulambwa			
Silumelume	Silumelume	Silumelume	Mubukwanu	Mubukwanu
Mubukwanu	Mubukwanu	Mubukwanu	Silumelume	Kandundu
Litia	Sibeso	Sipopa	Sipopa	
Sipopa	Sipopa	Litia	Litia	
Sibeso	Kandundu		Namiluko	
	Imbuwa		Imbuwa	
Matauka	Mwanawina II	Lubosi	Mwanawina II	Kaiko
Lubosi	Tatila Akafuna	Matauka	Tatila Akufuna	Matauka
Katoka	Maibiba		Lubosi	
	Kaiko		Lewanika	
	Lubosi			
	Matauka			
*Yeta III Letia	Yeta III Letia	Yeta III Letia	Yeta III	
Imwiko	Imwiko	Imwiko	Imwiko	
Mwanawina	Mwanawina III	Mwanawina	Mwanawina III	
				Mulima
				Makwibi

* Allowing 25 years per generation: Yeta III Litia born 1871-Litia's generation 1871-1896.

Sources and field research method

General Note

In the study of Lozi history up to the middle of the nineteenth century it is necessary to rely primarily on oral sources. No firsthand written sources for this period have so far been discovered; almost all written works available are modern and record versions of the same historical oral traditions. Work done already in neighbouring areas indicates that in future archaeology may provide an additional source.¹ At present, however, little archaeological work has been done in Bulozhi apart from preliminary surveys.²

The dependence on one type of source, that is oral tradition, is reflected in the form of the first section of this study. Particularly evident is the quantity of traditions on 'origin' and on the later evolution of the Lozi State to the early nineteenth century. Traditions of 'origin' are varied and full of detail while those for the later period tend to be thin, and centre primarily around the ruling dynasty.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, written sources become available. The approach in this study has been to combine written and oral material and to use them to supplement each other. In this, however, the balance was sometimes upset by the attitudes and political tensions prevailing in Bulozhi at the time of field research. First, for reasons of pride the Lozi tend to dismiss

¹ For a full bibliography of archaeological work already done in Zambia see D. W. Phillipson (compiler), *An Annotated Bibliography of the Archaeology of Zambia*, Government Printer, Lusaka 1968.

² J. D. Clark and B. M. Fagan: 'Charcoals, sands and channel decorated pottery' in *American Anthropologist*, April 1965. Some preliminary surveys have been made recently by Phillipson from Katima Mulilo in the south of Bulozhi as far as Balovale. A number of interesting sites are to be followed up soon. (Discussion in Livingstone, October 1968.)

summarily the external forces of the nineteenth century, particularly the Makololo, whose occupation had far-reaching consequences.³ (On the other hand, if they mention the Makololo the tendency is to blame everything bad in the present Lozi system on them.) Secondly, the people were silent and very sensitive with regard to the question of the British Protectorate.

This silence was caused by the Zambian independence issue, which raised the question of the future relationship of the Lozi with Zambia. Since all Lozi claims to a special status within Zambia as within Northern Rhodesia depended on the nineteenth century treaties with the British South Africa Company and the British Government, the Lozi were very cautious in discussing the coming of the British Protectorate. As a result of these tensions available tradition on these topics tends to be scanty, and greater reliance had to be placed on written sources.⁴

Section I: ORAL SOURCES

The value and use of oral tradition has been discussed in detail by such scholars as Jan Vansina and Ian Cunnison.⁵ It is needless to go over the same ground here beyond affirming the belief which has become general in recent years that oral tradition if critically used is a valuable source for the historical reconstruction of the African past.

It so happens that the societies of Rwanda and Kuba studied by Vansina, and of the Lunda of Kazembe studied by Cunnison, are in many ways similar to that of Bulozi, particularly in the centralised nature of their political and social structure. It is possible therefore to apply to Bulozi without major variation the principles for the use of oral tradition established by these scholars. One has taken into account all variants of the traditions, checking and counter-checking them; one has inquired into the modes of transmission, official and unofficial, formal and informal; and has looked for the possible functions of tradition, and for intentional and unintentional distortions. An effort has been made to identify every

³ See chapters on the Makololo and the restored Lozi kingdom in this volume.

⁴ For instance David Livingstone's records on the Makololo; Missionary and British South Africa Company and British Governmental material for the 'Protectorate' period.

⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (translated from the French by H. M. Wright), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. I. Cunnison, *History of the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, no. 21, 1951.

See also D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time Perspective*, a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources, Boston and Ghana University Press 1964.

informant and to note the circumstances in which the interview took place.⁶

These rules, however, had to be varied when one moved away from the centralised structure of the Lozi to their less centralised neighbours, such as the Tonga, Nkoya, Luvala and Mbunda. Traditions and informants could not be identified and contrasted in the same way as in Buluzi. Neither was there a central traditional measuring-stick by which all traditions could be evaluated. Formal and official procedures of preserving and transmitting historical knowledge are almost non-existent.

In these instances attempts to reconstruct tribal histories are frustrated because the societies are so fragmented, and their histories are mainly those of individuals or families and clans.

For this study the principal traditions used are those of the Lozi themselves, but reference is made wherever relevant and possible to the traditions of the neighbouring people.

Oral tradition in Buluzi, despite any possible distortion on such subjects as the Makololo occupation or the coming of the British Protectorate, is still more intact than among most Central African people. This is due to the highly centralised traditional social and political structure of the Lozi State, and to the comparative success with which it made the transition into the Colonial era.

In order to understand the nature of the oral tradition of the Lozi and its value for historical reconstruction it is necessary to understand to some degree both Lozi society itself and what concept they have of their own past. Owing perhaps to their unique geographical environment, and to their highly centralised political structure, the Lozi have a particular and integral concept of history based on the tribe as a whole, as well as regional, family and individual histories.

Every mature person is expected to know of his ancestry. It is usually the duty of the oldest surviving member of the family to 'educate' the young in family history. This is usually done informally round the fire or at work. Also, when two individuals meet for the first time greetings are usually followed by questions about their ancestry, the location of their home and so on. The aims and function of individual and family histories are obvious: the need to establish one's identity in society and also to establish one's claims to property, particularly land.

⁶ Details of interviews and informants are contained in the footnotes and bibliography.

Tribal history on the other hand centres mainly on kingship and the institutions which go with it, the tribal origin, tribal wars and campaigns, relationships with surrounding people and the general growth of the state. It also has certain characteristics which distinguish it from the other types of histories discussed above. First, it is mainly in tribal history that myth appears. Strangely enough, sometimes a mythical account of an incident is simultaneously passed down with the factual account of the same incident. For instance with regard to Lozi origin, there is a mythical version claiming direct descent from Nyambe (God), and a factual version with variations linking the Lozi with the Lunda of Mwata Yamvo. Usually circumstances at the time of interview determine whether the informant gives a mythical or factual account.⁷ Secondly, in transmission tribal history is more associated with formal and official procedure. The principal channel for preserving and transmitting tribal history is the *kuta* or court. The reasons for this are easy to see: it is political institutions which are in greatest need of knowledge of the past as a source of precedent; as leaders of the tribe, members of the *kuta* wish to uphold tribal unity by preserving common traditions; and finally as makers of tribal policy and controllers of tribal resources they usually have information which private individuals lack access to. They are for instance in touch with sections of the country all the time.

The *kuta* controls different channels through which traditions are actually preserved and transmitted. Chief among these are the institution of the Royal Graves, the Office or title histories such as those of the Indunas, and the Royal Band.

The Royal Band usually sings and plays songs full of historical meaning, which might be the praise of a ruler during a particular reign,⁸ or a narrative of a particular incident,⁹ an account of the early

⁷ Because of the fear that a factual account of their origins could be used to prove they were from outside and hence weaken their case for secession from Northern Rhodesia, the Lozi in 1962 and 1963 always laid strong emphasis on their direct descent from Nyambe and their having been created in the valley. After 1964, when the constitutional situation of Bulobi within Zambia had been decided, informants spoke more freely about their Congo connections. See M. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi: Some Oral Traditions', in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds), *The Zambesian Past*, Manchester University Press 1965, p. 247.

⁸ The best known and commonly quoted 'praise' is that of Yeta Twamona. Y. M. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu*, p. 3.
Liyamine Ndate Sitali, Village: Mulumbo; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.
Ex-Sambi Ndopu Nalumango. Village: Nkongga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.

⁹ For instance there are old Luyana songs composed at the time of the arrival of the Mbunda of Mwene Biemba at Nakaywe in Bulobi. Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu*, p. 10.

wanderings of the tribe and so on. They also have particular traditional songs for special occasions at the kuta. Most of these go back to the time the incident first occurred and then are traced through successive reigns.¹⁰ Through their songs the Royal Band can rebuke or advise the king by quoting for him the follies or virtues of his predecessors.¹¹

The main problem of using these songs and praise sayings for historical reconstruction is that they are all preserved in Siluyana, the old language now replaced by Sikololo. Those who understood them tended to give their general meanings only when what a scholar needs is a full and literal translation.

Office or title histories entail knowledge of the origin of one's title and duties at the kuta, which king created it and for what purpose.¹² Titles were not always hereditary; therefore they did not always pass from father to son nor always remain in one family. This makes a historical reconstruction of the title histories difficult, as it involves many different family groups with varying capacities for remembering and preserving their traditions. A second problem is, that during the colonial period a number of administrative reforms were carried out which resulted in the abolition of certain traditional titles. It is now difficult to get a full list of them as they had existed in the pre-colonial period, and to get hold of members of the families which had held those titles which were abolished. On the other hand the duties of the Indunas and other office-holders who were retained by the colonial administration were greatly modified to fit in with its aims and ideals. One Induna was made responsible to the kuta for agriculture, another for health, another for education, duties which were quite different from their traditional ones. As a result of such changes it is mainly the older Indunas who are still well acquainted with the traditional duties and significance of their offices.

The institution of the royal graves could be a very rich source for the historian. Each past Lozi king has a burial site and a gravekeeper (Nomboti or Nameto) whose position is hereditary. He is supposed to know all about the life and reign of the king whose grave he

¹⁰ I had collected some of these songs on tapes at Lealui and Nalolo. Unfortunately the tapes were borrowed from the History Department of the University College at Salisbury who took them from me. I later learned that they had been lent to other research students and had been erased!

¹¹ Ex-Sambi Ndopu Nalumango; Village: Nakonga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.

¹² As late as 1963 the writer's father, due to some administrative reforms in Bulozhi, was given a new title: that of Induna Biundwanono, instead of that of Saywa which had been in the family for generations. He was required by the kuta to tell all he knew about this new office, the praise sayings (Maloko) of the title of Biundwanono and the king who created it.

guards.¹³

The advantages of this institution in reconstructing tribal history are obvious, but it is very difficult to gain access to the royal grave sites or to obtain information from their custodians. In the course of this research several attempts were made to interview Linomboti, but few would speak without direct authorisation from the Litunga and the kuta. This is due partly to the reverence in which the dead, and particularly dead kings, are held and partly to the special role of the institution. The dead kings, through their grave-keepers who interpret their wishes to the king and the nation as a whole, give answers to the inexplicable in the everyday life of the tribe and provide precedents for government policy.¹⁴ Here the need for the government - both the king and the kuta - to be firmly in control of the institution of the royal graves, to secure the loyalty of both the ancestor spirits and of their keepers is clear.

Tribal traditions exist also outside the kuta as part of family histories; and there are, in addition, individuals outside the establishment who are recognised and respected for their knowledge of tribal history.¹⁵ Away from the kuta numerous versions of tradition occur, while at the kuta there is an 'official' version which is usually adhered to. This is true not only of the central kuta at Lealui but also of the regional and subordinate kutas, which are closely linked to and watched by the central kuta.¹⁶

Places and place names are also a useful historical source: places for example where important battles took place, or village sites, canals and mounds constructed at various periods by different kings.¹⁷ The traditions connected with places have survived not only because of the sense of history among the Lozi, but also because of the permanent nature of their settlement, particularly in the valley.

¹³ Lists of royal grave sites recorded in *Mongu District Notebook*, i, p. 436, K.D.E. 10/1 (N.A.Z.).

¹⁴ There were instances observed by the writer when a 'Nomboti' was called to the kuta to throw light on a case by quoting and expounding on a precedent which occurred during a particular reign. These experiences were mainly at Nalolo in the south.

¹⁵ The king usually recognised this, and could therefore summon to his inner council (Situmbu sa Mulonga) individuals who were not indunas, but were recognised experts on a particular subject under discussion. The writer observed this at Nalolo: Kumoyo Akende and Nayoya Sianga, recognised experts on the Nalolo kingship, were on more than one occasion asked to attend kuta sessions.

¹⁶ At both Nalolo and Naliele (Mankoya) kutas the chiefs and the Indunas were reluctant to be interviewed alone. This was clearly because if there were any questions from Lealui later, they would not be suspected of having departed from the official version. The Mukwae at Nalolo gave this reason jokingly while requesting that the Sambi, Induna Saywa and her Consort the Ishee Kwandu should be present throughout my interview with her.

¹⁷ See for instance Senanga district. Villages and places of note (N.A.Z.) K.D.E. 2/44/4a. In the

Finally, as already indicated, Lozi tradition can be contrasted with and supplemented by traditions of the neighbouring people, some of whom have been closely linked with the Lozi State for as long as it has been in existence. The Nkoya in the north-east invariably claim common ancestry with the Lozi.¹⁸ The Mbunda in both Bulozhi and in Angola, and the Luvale in the north have traditions about Bulozhi which go back to the founding of the present Lozi dynasty.¹⁹ The Ila, Tonga and Toka in the south came into contact a little later but their traditions about Bulozhi are equally important.²⁰

At present then, scholars of oral tradition have a rich field in Bulozhi. However, this has to be exploited with a sense of urgency due to the rapidly changing political and social situation, as tribal kingdoms give way to multi-tribal national states, and as old custodians of tradition die without replacement.

Field Research Method

Having discussed the character of Lozi oral tradition with its numerous variants and the various methods through which it is transmitted, it seems appropriate to give a brief account of the fieldwork method adopted in the collection of the traditions.

Oral evidence used in this study is the result of several trips to Bulozhi beginning from the end of 1962 when I worked for the History Department in Salisbury collecting oral tradition²¹ to October 1968.²²

As a Mulozi myself I was well aware of the complexity of Lozi society and decided from the beginning that my methodical approach in collecting data had to be based on the social structure and ethnic groupings as well as the existing forces, political and otherwise, which were likely to influence evidence. I decided that the most practical way to carry out fieldwork which could embrace

course of field work in Bulozhi, the writer's attention was drawn to numerous sites, mounds, canals, etc., which were known to the local people for their historical connections.

¹⁸ Mwene Kahare Kabambi.

¹⁹ Mwene Ciengele Likishi. Mwene Kandala, typescript on Mbunda history. Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santula*, pp. 1ff.

²⁰ See for instance *Interviews with Old People*, Kalomo Secondary School Historical Association, 1970. E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1920.

²¹ My paper 'The Origin of the Lozi: Some Oral Traditions', published in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds), *The Zambesian Past*, Manchester University Press 1965, was based on my work for the History Department in Salisbury.

²² There were long periods during 1962 to 1968 when I was not in Bulozhi. I was still completing my undergraduate work in Salisbury, and later I had to work on archival sources in Zambia, Rhodesia and Europe.

as many social and ethnic groups as possible was to adopt a regional approach.

Bulozi is divided into the five districts of Mongu-Lealui, Senanga, Mankoya, Sesheke and Kalabo. In all these districts apart from Mankoya the various Lozi groups are well represented. The traditional and central Lozi capital Lealui is situated in Mongu-Lealui district, and so is the forest capital of Bulozi, Limulunga which becomes the centre of government when the Plain is inundated from March to June. The other districts including Mankoya have subsidiary capitals and kutas headed by members of the Lozi royal family and Lozi aristocracy who as indunas or councillors advise and work in conjunction with the chief. Each of the district Lozi capitals and kutas is a replica of the central capital and kuta at Lealui, varying only in size and scale.²³

Mankoya has a kuta and a Lozi ruler at Naliele. The kuta at Naliele was established in 1937 as a result of the colonial administration's Native Authority Ordinance aimed at founding a regular and uniform pattern of local administration throughout the then Barotseland.²⁴ The social composition of Mankoya district differs from the other four districts in that the majority of the population are not 'true' Lozi. Many of the people in Mankoya are immigrants from Angola, while the Nkoya themselves despite their long historical association with Bulozi continue to regard themselves as a separate group and sometimes resent Lozi political control over them. Thus while in Mongu, Senanga, Kalabo and Sesheke one could expect primarily 'Lozi' traditions, in Mankoya one found 'external' traditions about Lozi history.

I spent more time in Mongu-Lealui and Senanga districts because they are the most central districts of the country both geographically and symbolically. The central Lozi kingship is based in Mongu-Lealui district, while Nalolo in Senanga district is the second most important centre after Lealui. Mongu-Lealui and Senanga being so 'central' are also the most accessible districts of the country. Special attention was also given to Mankoya district because of its special relationship with Bulozi. In the main I found that I could travel freely through all the districts collecting traditions. To have

²³ The division of Bulozi into territorial units of 'districts' was primarily a measure introduced by the colonial administration (formation of districts or sub-districts see N.A.Z. K.D.E. 2/44/4, pp. 8ff.) although there were subsidiary Lozi chieftaincies at Sesheke, Libonda in Kalabo, and Kaunga in Mashi which were established by Lewanika at the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁴ Similarly, a Lozi kuta was established among the Luvale and the Lunda at Nawinda for the administration of Balovale district which was part of Barotseland until 1941.

interviews with Indunas and with the grave-keepers (Linomboti), however, it was necessary to get permission of the chief and kuta as a whole.

Central Bulozhi, Mongu-Lealui and Senanga districts are my home areas. I therefore knew a number of people recognised and respected for their knowledge of historical traditions. I found, however, that even though most of the people knew me and my family quite well, they required to be assured as to the purpose of my interrogation and there were certain questions they either declined to answer or when they answered requested that information should not be published.

When I was in less familiar areas the method of selection of informants had necessarily to vary. Throughout my fieldwork I carried only emergency supplies and minimum provisions. I stayed in a variety of places, ranging from government rest houses, empty classrooms, and private homes. I went about with a helper, Joseph Kelekwa, a Mulozhi, who not only knew the country well but was very good at making contact with the people. Joseph was in charge of finding possible sources of food, water and firewood supplies wherever we stayed. This proved a very good introduction to new groups of people. Our enquiries about buying food and where to find water were always followed by enquiries about who we were, where we had come from, and the purpose of our journey. This type of introduction was also very effective in allaying suspicion. Since it is customary for visitors to contact the most senior member of the village or family when stopping in a village, our enquiries about food usually resulted in direct contact with the old members of the community who are better informed about family and tribal histories, and who would also know the most influential and knowledgeable personalities within their neighbourhood. No payment was given for evidence throughout the fieldwork.

The people's reaction varied from village to village and family to family. Sometimes the individual contact responded very favourably and an individual interview would be carried out. On other occasions he would summon the other influential members of the village or family to sit in or participate in the interview; this one felt was partly customary but also to safeguard themselves. There were also occasions when I was led to the village open space where the whole village turned up. In such instances they normally came as audiences only while the most senior members of the village

answered questions and told their traditions.

On the whole individual interviews were easier to handle than group interviews where variants of traditions were sometimes given in the same interview. Generally at the first interview I was ready to accept whatever form the people wished the interview to take. However, individuals who participated in group interviews were sometimes approached singly when the whole family or village had been acquainted with the purpose of the research.

For the actual interviews a tape recorder and notebooks were used. Unfortunately the tape recorder and the tapes for the first part of the fieldwork were borrowed from the History Department of the University College, Salisbury, and had to be shared with two other students with the result that recorded material had to be transcribed quickly and then the tape recorder and tapes passed round in a rota. In this way some of my irreplaceable Luyana songs and sayings were erased! Later I had my own tapes and in the final stages of fieldwork my own tape recorder.

The questions asked in the course of the interviews were prompted by the historical hypothesis for Bulozi to 1900, such as the origins of the people and their institutions, the evolution of the Lozi State system, various historical events and the Lozi relationships with their neighbours. The informants' knowledge of different subjects and the ease with which they responded to subjects varied greatly. It was therefore important not only to win an informant's confidence but also to try to find out the subject on which he was most conversant.

As mentioned earlier, I also reckoned that a number of existing forces at the time of fieldwork were likely to affect evidence apart from the traditional social groupings. Oral evidence used in this study as already said is a result of several trips to Bulozi between 1962 and 1968. My historical hypothesis during this period changed to become clearer and broader, but contemporary forces in Bulozi were also changing and making themselves felt in different forms and varying degrees. Their effects showed themselves not only in the reception I got from different people but also in the type of evidence they gave.

The most significant forces at work between 1962 and 1968 were all political, the main issue being how and whether Bulozi was to survive the transition from colonial rule to independence within a multi-tribal state of Zambia. The traditional aristocracy pressed for

secession, but in this they had to contend with two sections of the 'elite' and some non-aristocratic groups. The elite were divided, some seeking to preserve the traditional structure, but after drastic changes not only giving opportunities to wider groups but also enabling it to become more flexible; some felt the traditional structure was completely out of date, and they preferred the multi-tribal state in which Bulozhi would not only be a part but a full participant.

In Mankoya the situation was different. The coming of Northern Rhodesia's independence offered a unique opportunity for the Nkoya, who were politically conscious, to breakaway from Lozi domination. In 1964, for example, the African National Congress in Mankoya published a vernacular history of the district which put much emphasis on Nkoya independence in the past.²⁵ The Lozi aristocracy at Naliele kuta, on the other hand, were showing great insecurity to the extent where they refused to tell traditions of the Lozi people in the presence of non-Lozi Indunas elected and nominated to represent local groups.

Although one's questions were guided primarily by the historical hypothesis which were the main purpose for collecting data, care was taken not to reject evidence on the basis of preconceived historical theories. As many variants of tradition as possible were recorded, and even in the final historical reconstruction, a number of historical theories based on different variants of tradition are followed. The result may tend to be inconclusive in some instances but a series of subjects and channels for further research are disclosed in this process.

Section II: PRIMARY WRITTEN SOURCES

There are very few written first-hand sources for Lozi history before the middle of the nineteenth century.

These comprise diaries and books of early travellers, traders, missionaries and colonial representatives and administrators. As eyewitness accounts these have some major advantages; they serve to corroborate or to contradict accounts contained in oral tradition, and can often provide definite dates for historical events which in oral tradition occur only in a vague time sequence.

In Africa, for most states, the story of their first written historical

²⁵ Nkoya resentment of the Lozi was reflected in the sharp comments by the Nkoya regional secretary for the African National Congress; 'Nkoya is Nkoya, Lozi is Lozi. . . . The Lozi do not care for the land - only Nkoya vote for A.N.C. The Lozi do not want to improve the country, etc.' Interview, April 1964.

records is also the story of their first contact with the outside world. The foreigners were the first people in these countries who could read and write.

In Central Africa contact with the outside world came later than on the east and west coast, where the Arabs and Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, first established trade links before they began to penetrate the interior. The earliest written reference to the east African coast goes as far back as the second century A.D.²⁶ In the tenth century the traveller and geographer, Al Masudi from Baghdad, left records of a gold trade from the interior to the east African coast.²⁷

On the Central African west coast in the Congo and Angola, contact with the Portuguese goes back to the late fifteenth century.²⁸ A slow penetration first of the lands beside the lower Congo River and later of the Angola region followed. A similar penetration followed from Mozambique on the east coast, where the Portuguese had been well established since the early sixteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Portuguese were trading in the lower Zambezi and Luangwa valleys. From the west coast, direct trade links were established with the Lunda of Mwata Yamvo.²⁹

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Portuguese began attempts to establish a direct link across Central Africa between Angola and Mozambique. An expedition under Francisco Jose de Lacerda e Almeda reached Kazembe's on the Luapula from Tete in 1798. The expedition was prevented from going further and stayed at the Lunda capital for seven months. Lacerda died at Kazembe's, but his expedition left behind one of the earliest records of any of the Zambian kingdoms.³⁰

A second attempt to cross Africa, this time from Angola to Mozambique, was accomplished by two Pombeiros, P. J. Baptista

²⁶ R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, Penguin, 1962, pp. 96-7.

²⁷ For more information of Arab and European contact and penetration of east Africa see for instance: R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders from the earliest times to the death of Seyyid Said in 1856*, Clarendon Press 1965.

²⁸ C. R. Boxer, 'The Old Kingdom of Congo' in Roland Oliver (ed.), *The Dawn of African History*, Oxford University Press, London 1965, pp. 75-81. D. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966, for more information of Portuguese penetration in Angola.

²⁹ R. Hall, 'Portuguese Expeditions in Zambia', in B. M. Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia*, Oxford University Press 1966, pp. 129-34. J. Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, Penguin, 1962, for a study of Portuguese penetration in Africa.

³⁰ Captain R. F. Burton (translated and annotated), 'Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798', in *The Lands of Cazembe*, published for the Royal Geographical Society by John Murray, London 1873, pp. 1-164.

and Amaro Jose, who arrived at Kazembe's in 1806. They were detained there till 1810, and reached Tete in 1811.³¹ In 1831 Monteiro and Gamitto set out from Tete for Kazembe's with the intention of establishing trade. They did not succeed in this aim, but reached Kazembe's and left records of their journey across northern Zambia, and particularly of Kazembe's country.³²

So far there is no evidence of any Portuguese or Arab attempt to penetrate and open up the Upper Zambezi region before the end of the eighteenth century. In 1794 a Portuguese traveller, Silva Alexandra de Texeira, travelled from the west coast to the Luvar (Luvale) country whose ruler Quinhama (Chinyama) lived on the western bank of the Riambeje (Liambayi or Zambezi). Apart from making references to the neighbours of the Luvale, who included the Amboella (Bambwela) the Moluas (Lunda) and the Luy (Luyi or Aluyana), his report does not throw much light on Bulozhi or the Upper Zambezi generally.³³

The Mambari traders from the west coast reached Bulozhi during the reign of Mulambwa (1798-1812).³⁴ However, no records of their journeys - if any were kept - have yet been found.

The next written reference to the Upper Zambezi valley and to Bulozhi is by another Portuguese, Antonio Francisco da Silva or Silva Porto. Silva Porto made three separate journeys to the Upper Zambezi in 1847-8, 1852-3 and in 1858. During this period Bulozhi was occupied by the Makololo. One group of Lozi refugees from this invasion settled in Nyengo in the north-west and another on the Lukulu River in the north. (The latter moved afterwards to Lukwakwa on the Kabompo River.) Porto refers to the Lozi group in exile at Lukulu in 1847-8. On his second trip he refers to the group at Nyengo where he had to seek the permission of their ruler Imbua to cross the Nyengo River. He then reached Bulozhi where he established contact with the Kololo 'governor' Mpepe.³⁵

³¹ B. A. Beadle (translated), 'Journey of the "Pombeiros"', P. J. Baptista and Amaro Jose, across Africa from Angola to Tette on the Zambeze', in *The Lands of Cazembe*, pp. 167-244.

³² Dr C. T. Beke, 'Resume of the Journey of M.M. Monteiro and Gamitto' in *The Lands of Cazembe*, pp. 247-57. A. C. P. Gamitto, *King Kazembe*, translated by I. Cunlison, Lisbon 1960. 2 volumes.

³³ See Appendix to J. Macqueen 'Journeys of Silva Porto with the Arabs from Benguela to Ibo and Mozambique through Africa', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1860, xxx, p. 150.

³⁴ Jalla, *Litaba*, p. 24. I. Schapera (ed), *Livingstone's Private Journals*, 1851-1853, Chatto and Windus 1960, p. 203.

³⁵ J. Macqueen, pp. 136-49. C. M. N. White, 'The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi', *African Studies*, xxi, 1, 1962, p. 26. He gives a summary of relevant references to Bulozhi as contained in Silva Porto's diaries, *Viagens e Apontamentos de un Portuense an Africa*, Lisbon 1942. An attempt is

(footnote 35 continued on next page)

While Porto traversed northern Bulozi, in the south the Makololo were visited in 1851 and again in 1853 by the Scottish missionary doctor, David Livingstone, of the London Missionary Society. During his second visit Livingstone refers to Porto's presence in the valley,³⁶ and also reports meeting two Arabs from the east coast. These Arabs could read and write as one of them made an entry in Livingstone's notebook.³⁷ They may therefore have left a record of their journey, but so far nothing has been found.

Although Livingstone was not the first literate person to penetrate the Central African interior, his records and observations received wider publicity and became better known.

Livingstone, who was originally stationed in Bechuanaland, left for the Makololo country from Kolobeng in April 1851. His experiences and observations on this visit were recorded in a journal which he kept, after some persuasion, until November 1853.³⁸ References to the same journey also occur in his despatches and correspondence of the time, which have since been published in different works.³⁹

After his initial visit, Livingstone decided on establishing a mission among the Makololo. In May 1853 he returned to the Makololo. During this visit he travelled from Linyanti along the Zambezi as far north as the Kabompo River. His experience of the country and the people, and a desire to promote legitimate trade to replace the slave trade, resulted in a change of his immediate aims from opening a mission to finding an easy and direct trade route to the west coast.

In November 1853 Livingstone left from Linyanti for the west coast, travelling once again along the Zambezi, to the Lunda of Shinde and through the Chokwe country to Luanda on the coast.

He reached Luanda on 31 May 1854. On 20 September 1854 he started back for Linyanti, the Makololo capital, arriving there on 11 September 1855. Clearly a trade route to the west coast would be lengthy and unsatisfactory, so Livingstone left in November 1855 to

being made at the University of Zambia to have a copy of this diary translated into English.

³⁶ Schapera, *Livingstone's Private Journals*, p. 232; also p. 232, n. 1.

³⁷ Livingstone, *Private Journals*, 1851-1853, pp. 227-30.

³⁸ In 1960 these journals were published in *Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851-1853*, edited with introduction by I. Schapera, Chatto and Windus, 1960.

³⁹ For instance: I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*, Chatto and Windus, 1961, David Chamberlain (ed.), *Some Letters from Livingstone, 1840-1872*, Oxford University Press, 1940. I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's Family Letters, 1841-1856*, 2 vols, Chatto and Windus, 1959.

try to open up a route to the east. He reached Quilimane on 20 May 1856.

Livingstone's experiences, discoveries and contacts on these trips across Africa were described by him in letters to relatives, friends and directors of the London Missionary Society, as well as to the Royal Geographical Society. He also kept a journal from the day he left Linyanti for Luanda to the end of his journey across Africa. These experiences were later published by Livingstone himself in 1857 as a section of a general record of his work.⁴⁰ The journal, however, was not published as a separate work until 1963.⁴¹

In 1860 Livingstone made his last visit to the Makololo, before his efforts were permanently diverted to Lake Nyasa and the northern sections of Zambia. On this journey some information is given about the deterioration and decline of the Makololo.⁴²

On all his travels Livingstone was greatly assisted by the Makololo. Sibitwane, the Makololo ruler, had welcomed him warmly and given him leave to establish a mission in his kingdom. Sekeletu, Sibitwane's son and successor, supplied Livingstone with carriers and provisions for trips across Central Africa. These factors have to be taken into account when examining Livingstone's assessment of the Makololo, particularly the chief Sibitwane.

It has been suggested that Livingstone saw in the Makololo virtues which later other travellers failed to find in them.⁴³ A second possible explanation for Livingstone's attitude to the Makololo may be found in his enthusiasm not only to establish a successful mission among them but also to win external sympathy and support for his ventures.

Livingstone's comments and references are not confined to the Makololo only; he throws light on the defeated Lozi factions in exile and in the valley and makes informative references to the surrounding peoples, particularly the Luvale and the Lunda to the north of Bulozhi.

Livingstone's records, however, as a historical source, are far from being exhaustive. This was partly because Livingstone himself did

⁴⁰ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, John Murray, 1857.

⁴¹ I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's African Journal, 1853-1856*, 2 vols, Chatto and Windus, 1963.

⁴² David and Charles Livingstone; *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries, 1858-1864*, John Murray 1865.

⁴³ E. C. Tabler in his introduction to E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeeck, 1885-1888, and Captain Norman MacLeod, 1875-1876*, London 1963, p. 3.

not aim at making such a record, and partly because his interests were not confined to historical or anthropological observations. These included geography, botany, zoology and many other less significant subjects, 'I mean to note down even trivial incidents such as will interest none but myself'.⁴⁴

Livingstone was followed closely by traders from the south. In August 1853 one of these traders, James Chapman, reached the Chobe region with two companions. For Chapman this was the beginning of a long association with Bulozi where his descendants still live. He left a record of his travels and trading activities and has a section devoted to the Makololo.⁴⁵

Between 1871 and 1888 trade between Bulozi and the south was dominated by an Englishman, George Westbeech. No early diaries of Westbeech have been found, but in 1963 a diary covering the last three years of his life was published.⁴⁶ Westbeech recorded in detail incidents of the confused and difficult period during Lewanika's reign following the 1884 rebellion. Unfortunately Westbeech was not in the valley, but in the south at the trading station of Pandamatenga and some of the incidents he recorded as happening in the valley proved to be mere rumours.

Westbeech introduced two assistants to the Zambezi valley. One of them, Dr. Benjamin Frederick Bradshaw, accompanied him to the Zambezi in 1872 and stayed to manage his trading station at Pandamatenga for six years. During this period Bradshaw wrote on the Chobe region.⁴⁷

Yet another traveller whose work covers this period of Lozi history is the Czech, Dr. Emil Holub, who arrived at the Zambezi in 1875. His aim was to follow Dr. Livingstone's footsteps to the west coast, but he did not succeed. This venture, however, brought him into contact and association with the Lozi ruler Sipopa then living at Sesheke. Holub seems to have observed closely the structure, protocol and events at Sipopa's court and his records for this period make interesting reading though it is difficult to cross-check some of his affirmations. Holub was not sufficiently equipped for the journey to

⁴⁴ Livingstone, *African Journal*, 1853-1856, i, p. xxiii.

⁴⁵ J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols, Bell and Daldy, 1868. References to the Makololo in i, pp. 167, 168-73, 288-9; ii, pp. 98-148.

⁴⁶ Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, 1963.

⁴⁷ B. F. Bradshaw, 'Notes on the Chobe River', in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, iii, 1881.

the west coast and was, in the end, compelled to turn back. After his return to Europe in 1880, he wrote and exhibited his extensive collections.⁴⁸

In 1885 Dr. Holub returned to the Zambezi with his wife and a larger and better equipped party. His intention this time was to go north towards Lakes Bangweulu and Tanganyika. This proved even more disastrous than the first journey, for Holub's party was weakened by fever and attacked and robbed when they reached the Kafue River among the Ila. Holub's record of this expedition contains detailed descriptions of the Toka, Tonga and Ila social and political organisation. He also throws some light on the political relationship between these groups and the Lozi.⁴⁹

References have also been made in this study to the publications of the Portuguese Army officer/explorer/traveller, Major Serpa Pinto. Pinto travelled from the west coast ostensibly with the intention of crossing from Angola to Mozambique to open a trans-continental route and to establish for Portugal contact and trade relationships with African states. He arrived in Buluzi soon after the installation to the kingship of Lewanika in 1878.

Pinto has left behind vivid accounts of his reception by Lewanika and later his involvement in a plot to overthrow Lewanika and put Mutumweno, Sipopa's son, in his place. Pinto has been accused of exaggerating and dramatising his experiences.⁵⁰ But regardless of this, he does throw some light on the political situation at the time of Lewanika's accession.⁵¹

The next group of literary sources after traders and travellers is primarily by missionaries. Missionary contact with Buluzi after the efforts of Livingstone and the London Missionary Society during the Makololo period began again in 1878. A group of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, operating from Basutoland (Lesotho) after an unsuccessful attempt to enter Mashonaland, turned to Buluzi. The group was led by François Coillard, who had worked in

⁴⁸ E. Holub, 'Journey through Central East Africa' (read at the evening meeting, 26 January 1880), in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1880, ii; *Seven Years in South Africa*, 2 vols, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington 1881.

⁴⁹ E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt ins Land der Maschukulumbé, Reisen im Sildlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1883-1887*, Alfred Holder, Vienna 1890. A translation of this book into English is in progress at the University of Zambia.

⁵⁰ See for instance Westbeech's comments on p. 49 of his diary.

⁵¹ Major Serpa Pinto, *How I crossed Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, 1877-1879*, 2 vols, London 1881.

Basutoland for nearly twenty years and spoke Sesotho fluently. The political conditions in Bulozi, however, were such, and the king was so undecided about the missionaries, that Coillard was forced to turn back after only reaching Sesheke. Coillard wrote letters and kept a diary of his journey to Sesheke which throws some significant light on the political state in the southern part of Bulozi, at the time of Lewanika's accession.⁵²

The P.M.S. did not return to Bulozi until 1885. Meanwhile two separate missionary contacts were made with Lewanika. After Coillard's departure in 1879 and before his return in 1885, some Jesuits tried to establish a mission in Bulozi. They visited the valley and met Lewanika. In the end their mission was rejected by him, but they left an account of some of their experiences.⁵³

In 1882 Frederick Stanley Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren arrived in Bulozi. His aim had been to found a mission among the Tonga but this was frustrated by Lewanika who refused to allow him to go there. Arnot spent two years in Bulozi, living mainly at Lealui, the Lozi capital. He was forced to leave the country for the west coast in 1884 due to ill health and the imminent rebellion against Lewanika. Arnot has left accounts of the political situation in Bulozi preceding the 1884 rebellion. He also throws light on the reactions of the Lozi to early European penetration and settlement in Central Africa.⁵⁴

Soon after Arnot's departure, Coillard and his party returned to Bulozi in 1885 to found the first permanent mission there. It is the pioneer missionaries of the P.M.S. who have left most of the written records on Bulozi during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The quantity and quality of these records vary according to the degree of the involvement of the writers in the life and incidents they wrote about. In this respect, it was first Coillard and then Adolphe Jalla who dominated the missionary-Lozi scene, and they left the fullest records of their experiences.⁵⁵

Other members of the mission kept records of their work and

⁵² Works by Coillard fully cited in the bibliography.

⁵³ Depelchin and Croonenberghs, *Trois ans dans l'Afrique australe, 1879-1881*, Brussels 1883. Father Francis Berghege, 'Account of a Journey in Central Africa' (Zambesi Mission) in *Rhodesiana*, 1958, 3, p. 1-13. (Publication of the Rhodesiana Society, Salisbury.)

⁵⁴ Works by Arnot cited in the bibliography.

⁵⁵ Works by Adolphe Jalla fully cited in bibliography.

experiences.⁵⁶ These are useful in supplementing the other missionary sources and are in most instances regional reports from the various mission stations scattered all over Bulozhi.

In assessing the value of missionary records as a historical source, it must be remembered that missionaries as a whole were closely associated with the establishment and particularly with the king. They had come to Bulozhi at his invitation and, at least to begin with, were treated as his confidants and advisers. The missionaries on their part included themselves among the highest in the land: 'No etiquette whatever fences the intercourse of Missionaries with any native grandee... they have the right of access to his (her) person at all times on their own terms.'⁵⁷ The missionaries' close association with the capital and the establishment as a whole was bound to affect the nature of their records. Their accounts were concerned mainly with events at the capital and with the ruling groups in the country.

Another bias of most missionaries was perhaps equally inevitable. Their beliefs and aims as missionaries clearly affected their accounts and their interpretation which so often saw events only in terms of paganism versus Christianity, with little consideration of local forces.⁵⁸

The missionary documentary sources have themselves to be divided into groups, just as the different sources of tradition have to be. There often is a clear distinction, for instance, between the private correspondence and the official account in Coillard's publications. Facts which appear in private correspondence are sometimes omitted altogether or are put differently in official publications.⁵⁹

At the end of the 1880s Bulozhi was getting caught in the forces of the 'scramble'. The Ware Concession was signed in 1889 and the Lochner Treaty with the British South Africa Company in 1890. From this date the Company's records, and records of the rival

⁵⁶ Apart from official reports and letters to the headquarters in Paris and a few personal letters, papers of most missionaries are still retained by their families in France, Italy and Switzerland.

⁵⁷ C. W. Mackintosh, *The New Zambezi Trail*, Fisher Unwin, London 1922, p. 171.

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Coillard to Mrs. Hart, Sefula, 28 May 1890, C.O. 5/1/1/1, ii, Folio 978 (N.A.R.).

⁵⁹ See for instance chapter 9 for an analysis of Coillard's role in the negotiations for the treaties with Harry Ware and Lochner in 1889 and 1890. Also missionary accounts in letters and reports were quite often shortened and edited when they appeared in official journals and publications like the *Journal des Missions* and *News from Barotseland*.

groups and British governmental material, provide further primary sources.

The Company records fall into a number of categories. As well as official correspondence and public reports, these comprise unofficial reports back to the Company by Lochner in which he reveals his hopes and fears, and the various methods he adopted to win over Lewanika and the opposition in Bulozi. The Company also has its private correspondence which is often in great contrast to the official and public correspondence. The Company freely discusses methods of promoting its interests and aims, sometimes at the expense of Lewanika, and without even letting the British Government suspect their tactics.

The main European opposition group in Bulozi to both the Company and the missionaries was led by George Middleton, a former P.M.S. lay missionary who left the mission to become a businessman and allied himself closely for a brief period with Lewanika. The advice of Middleton to Lewanika, and letters written by him on the king's behalf to the British Government concerning the Company and the missionaries, shed light from a different angle on the actions and motives of both these main parties.

British governmental material relevant to Bulozi falls into two main categories: one section is concerned mainly with the government's insistence on a policy of legality in the Company's dealings. There is also a 'diplomatic' section which comprises reports and correspondence on the delimitation of international boundaries with other European powers claiming territories in Central Africa. This body of material is most informative on Bulozi, for it contains reports about the influence and extent of the Lozi kingdom, as well as the effectiveness of the Lozi State structure.

Not all of this written material, of course, can be taken at face value. Some of it had obvious functions. For instance the Company in order to prevent the British Government from giving in too much to the Portuguese when determining their respective spheres in western Bulozi had to play up the extent of Lewanika's influence, with whom they had already secured a treaty and whose territorial boundaries determined also the extent of the Company's interests. The Middleton group, on the other hand, had their own business interests which undoubtedly motivated some of their attacks on the

Company and on the missionaries also from whom they had not only differed but who had become handy tools of the Company in negotiations with Lewanika.

It must be remembered too that most European participants in, or observers of, the events of the time did not understand fully the nature of Lozi politics and society. Thus Lozi opposition to the Lochner Concession and Lewanika's efforts to repudiate it are explained by the Company and by the missionaries, mainly as the result of the influence of Middleton and his group. There is not much understanding of the traditional politics and the pressures which they exerted on Lewanika.

Effective colonial administration was not established in Bulozhi until the beginning of the twentieth century. The first resident representative of the Company in keeping with the terms of the Lochner Treaty of 1890 arrived in 1897. Most of the colonial administration records begin after 1900 and therefore strictly speaking belong to the period outside this study. But some documents of the Resident Magistrate in Bulozhi, and those of the Secretary of Native Affairs during the first decade of the twentieth century, contain a good deal of historical information which when looked at retrospectively is quite illuminating on the structure of Lozi politics at the end of the nineteenth century.

List of main oral sources: informants and Select Bibliography

Section I: ORAL SOURCES: MAIN INFORMANTS

KALABO DISTRICT

Induna Mukwamandi Manungwa; village: Litapuya; Silalo: Likulundundu; tribe: Makoma; Kuta: Litapuya, Kalabo District; born 1925.

School at Liumba Hill Mission of the Seventh Day Adventists. Worked in Johannesburg. Induna from 1954. Father had been Induna Mukwamandi at Litapuya. He later explained that his father was Kwandi, and his mother was Mukwa Makoma.

Gave a fluent account of the early history of Kalabo, but was later shied off by some of the elder Indunas who were present at the interviews.

October 1968

Induna Simioti Monde; village: Kangongo in Namatindi; Silalo: Mapungu; kuta: Buleya; Induna Muyumbana, Kalabo District; born 1902. Educated Barotse National School. Worked in Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia as a foreman. 1945 succeeded to the Indunaship on his father's death. Mother was Toka by tribe. Father was Nkoya. His grandparents were settled in Kalabo by Lewanika. Lewanika appointed his Nkoya grandfather, Lunenge Kahebalibangu to the Indunaship - *Simioti*.

October 1968

Induna Sipaka Mundia; village: Namukuyu; Silalo: Mapungu; tribe: The original Malozi of Mbuyu;* born 1902. No formal education. Messenger from 1924. Succeeded to an hereditary title in 1954. Title held first by his grandfather in Mulambwa's time. He lived at

*He insisted that Malozi were a different and separate tribe from all the other tribes in Kalabo

Nanikelako in Maala village.

October 1968

Induna Iwake Wakumelo; went to school at Liumba Mission of the Seventh Day Adventists. 1940 - worked for the Cold Storage in Bulawayo as a 'Capitao'. 1946 - succeeded to an hereditary title of Induna Wakumelo. His grandfather Waluka Nooyo was the first to get the title, then held at Lealui. His father held the same title at Libonda Kuta. The informant was at Libonda Kuta on succession but later was transferred to Ikatulamwa Kuta. He claimed that his tribe was Lozi.

October 1968

MANKOYA DISTRICT

African National Congress, Mankoya

Secretary (A.N.C.). A Nkoya. Anti-Lozi. 'Nkoya is Nkoya: Lozi is Lozi.' 'The Lozi do not care for the land - only Nkoya vote for A.N.C. The Lozi do not want to improve the country.' He opposes the kuta and wants to abolish it.

1964

Mwene Chaire; age: 76; village: Mwene Chaire; district of Mwene Mutondo in Mankoya. Aunt of the present Mwene Mutondo.

She wears two Mandes, one on the forehead and another at the back. These were given to her by her mother when she died. She says she will, in turn, leave them with her most popular child female or male, one who will be liked by the people and has influence. If it is a man he should be known at the kuta.

She took over the title of Mwene Chaire from her father as the only living child at the time. Her father used to wear a big Mande as a pendant, but all his wives wore them on the head. The big Mande was taken by her father's leading relative, the rest were buried with him.

The Mwene Chairship is now confined to the village, but in the past she presided over a big area. Her father was chief of Liomba area.

Some information was obtained also from her son Fubisha Malaya.

17 April 1964

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila; age: he was born during Lewanika's reign, after his return from Mashi (i.e. after 1885). He is the son of Mwene Mutondo Shiwowa.

Career: He was a messenger from 1918 to 1920, then for 29 years he worked for the prison service. In 1949 he became Mwene Mutondo in succession to his nephew, who was deposed.

Comments: He was a very ready and interested informant. He spoke from a manuscript and showed me his regalia. He asserted that we could not find any superior authority. While he spoke his Indunas were present.

21 April 1964

Likungu Mbenge Limbambo; village: Likungu Mbenge in Mwene Mutondo's Silalo; age: born during Sipopa's reign (1864-76).

He holds a courtly title of Likungu Mbenge. Had a seat at Naliele kuta but lost it last year (1963).

He appeared very timid, kept on clapping and referring to me as Mulena (chief). He called himself a slave of the Lozi! He was recommended to me by the Lozi kuta at Naliele. The African National Congress representative says he is ignorant of the past: 'to see him is wasting time; the kuta saw his grey hair and thought anyone old was good enough - he is very young'.

15 April 1964

Washeni Lisita; born: 1920; village: Liobola; Kakumba kuta; Mankoya District.

He was a driver at the Mankoya Boma from 1948-64. His mother was the daughter of Mwene Mutondo Wahila, the Mutondo during Lewanika's time.

While being interviewed he took his answers mainly from Rev. Shimunika's *History of the Nkoya*.

26 April 1964

Mwene Lishenga Katete Liyoka; village: Lishenga; age: born during Maate's Mutondoship and Lewanika's reign. He has been Mwene Lishenga from 1929. He was chief of the Luampa district and in charge of the Mwanatete kuta. But in 1948 he left Luampa because his clerk borrowed money from the treasury. He now stays in his village. His mother's uncle was Mutondo Munangisha; the present

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Mutondo is his nephew. He and his family are some of the main informants for Rev. Shimunika.

21 April 1964

Imasiku Mataa; Health Induna Naliele kuta; aged about 55; village: Nela; Silalo: Ndau of Induna Mulasu.

Previously clerk in the Provincial Administration, 1940-8; 1949-58 clerk in Public Works Department; 1958-64 Health Induna Naliele Kuta.

15 April 1964

Livinus Mboyanga Shamaoma; born during the Luvale War from which the Lozi returned with smallpox, i.e. 1892; village: Mboyanga; district: Mankoya-Mwene Mutondo; occupation: Induna Sikota in Shikombwe Kuta of Mwene Mutondo from 1934-47. Now a leper and living in his own village. However, he is still a regular visitor at Mwene Mutondo's Kuta.

18 April 1964

Mwita Muchaila; born: 1910; resides at Lukena, the Mutondo's kuta. He was Mwene Mutondo from 22 May 1944 to 1947, when he was deported to Kalabo in Bulozhi.

Interviewed at Shandu's village, about sixteen miles from the Boma, where he had gone to harvest his maize.

23 April 1964

Malasa Jehosophat Shimunika (Rev.); born: 1900; village: Lishenga (Mankoya District); court: Mwene Mutondo; occupation: Teacher 1923-50.

Pastor at Luampa Mission 1950-64. This mission belonged originally to the South Africa General Mission, which since has changed to be known as the Evangelical Fellowship Church.

His mother, Shilandi, was sister of Mwene Mutondo Kanincha.

He is very interested in Nkoya history and has been collecting oral tradition and has produced a short written Nkoya History (in Nkoya). His interest in Nkoya history goes as far back as 1925.

Shimunika's informants include: Shipandu son of Mwene Kayambila; Shilili nephew of Mwene Kayambila; Mwanamunene, Prince; Shishasha and his brother Shikuwe, sons of Kayambila and

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their nephew Mbuma Mwene Nyati (Nkoya Lukolwe near Lukulu); Mukende, Mundendemi, Shilanda and Mpelembe chief of Nkoya Shanjo; Kafuta (Luena) son of Kayambila, and his nephews Shikumi and Shingumana, Lungenda and Lufuko Mulambila Shimunika (his own uncle).

20 April 1964

Mwene Kahare Kabambi Timuna; born: 1921; Litoya kuta.

Mwene Kahare from 1952. He started acting on behalf of his father for two years; his father died in 1952. He has been Mwene since then. Before he became Mwene he worked in the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and then became a messenger at the Boma from 1947-52.

Present also was Mwana Mulena Jabisha Miyengo.

He is second cousin of the present Kahare and occupies second place to the Ngambela. He was born in 1914. He has been Induna at Litoya since 1949.

It was mainly from him that I got the story of the war against the Mashukulumbwe.

Also present was Paison Ngambeya; born: 1928; the chief drummer of Mwene Kahare.

15 April 1964

MONGU-LEALUI DISTRICT

Lyamba Kalaluka. Date of birth unknown, but at the time of Lewanika's death (1916) he had a younger brother who was being suckled. In reply to a question whether he was already born when Lewanika went to England in 1902, Mr. Lyamba said that was long before he was born. Silalo: Sinumuyambi; village: Nawinda, popularly known as 'Nakanjaa'; occupation: worked as a cook for the missionaries at Sefula Mission for many years. Note: He gave a good example of informal family history.

Mr. Lyamba came to greet me on my arrival from Lusaka (after an absence of eighteen months in London). Without informing him that the tape recorder was on, I proceeded to ask Mr. Lyamba of his family relationships and their link with mine. He went on to tell his family history. However, after I informed him that I was tape recording the conversation and wanted him to answer more questions, Mr. Lyamba became very reluctant to say more.

October 1968

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Ndate Namakau Mukungu Kambangala; born: 1905 at Sefula; village: Nasikena; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; tribe: paternal side: (a) Mbunda of Mwene Kandala (father's father); (b) Mbowe (father's mother's family); maternal side: (a) Kwangwa (mother's paternal side); (b) Toka (mother's mother's paternal line).

Spent twenty years in Bulawayo working as a postal messenger for the railways. On his return home got a job as an agricultural demonstrator.

October 1968 (final interview)

Makuyuya Kapao; born: 1917; village: Nakonga (of Nalumango) ; silalo: Sinumuyambi; educated at Mabumbu Mission; occupation: school teacher for many years, but she has retired now and is only a housewife.

A good example of family histories.

18 November 1962 and October 1968

Ndate Mufaya Kekelwa; born: during Lewanika's reign (before he went to England in 1902), at Silundu (near Sefula Mission); silalo: Sinumuyambi; occupation: fisherman, then worked in Wankie (S. Rhodesia) for many years; tribe: Kwanga on mother's side; Mbowe on father's side.

When asked whether he was a member of any modern political party, he replied that he did not like to participate in any politics, but was watching all the moves being made by the politicians.

(The question of modern politics arose after he told of his experiences as a young man and how they used to carry *Makuwa* (Europeans) all over the country.)

October 1968

Mwene Ciengele Singumbe Likishi; aged about 76 (in 1964). He claims to have been born in the year the Lozi under Lewanika took war against the Ila in 1888; village: Lifwekelo; Silalo: Siwito (Forest area); occupation: As Mwene Ciengele he is the Mbunda paramount ruler, a position he has held since 5 February 1935.

He is the only Mbunda chief with royal drums (Mbunda royal drums). Enjoys several privileges granted by the Lozi king; e.g. he has pointed poles round his enclosure (*mulombwe*) similar to those

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of the king of Bulozhi; he also possesses a fly swish, part of the Lozi regalia granted to the early Mwene Ciengele by Mulambwa.

Throughout Likishi's life he has been in close contact with the Lozi royal family. In 1916 he participated officially in the ceremonial burial of Lubosi Lewanika at Nanikelako. His installation as Mwene Ciengele in 1935 was attended by Yeta III.

He gave me an uninterrupted account, which was recorded on tape.

11 April 1964

Bonwell Muchala Liyamine; born: 1929 (in Lealui); village: Mulumbo (Yeta III's grave site); Silalo: Sinumuyambi; tribes: Mbowe (father's line); Kwandi (mother's line); occupation: 1948-9 worked on the railways. Worked as a brickmaker and now is a member of a brickmaking co-operative.

Son of Ndate Sitali Liyamine, see next entry.

October 1968

Ndate Sitali Liyamine; village: Mulumbo (the grave of Yeta III); Silalo: Sinumuyambi; born during Lewanika's reign, after his return from exile in 1885.

Apart from being one of the custodians of the Royal Grave Village at Mulumbo, he is also the ferryman, at the Malile or 'Little' River.

Liyamine's original home is in the north in Kalabo district; Silalo: Nunyama; village: Mwandi.

His parents lived there, and his father, Simasiku, was an official hunter for the king.

October 1968

Numba Luhamba; age: about 78 (in 1968); village: Nakanga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.

Captured and brought to Bulozhi in the 1892 war against the Luvale. Separated from her mother, who was away in the fields when the Lozi struck, Numba came to Bulozhi with her elder sister. In Bulozhi she was a play companion and servant to her master's young daughter. Numba was liberated before the formal declaration in 1906 when Lewanika discovered that her master tried to send Numba to the capital as a maid to the royal household instead of his own daughter as requested by the king.

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Numba married into a Lozi family and has a large family in Bulozhi.

October 1968 (last interview)

Mukanwa Mubita Mubiana (died 1964).

He does not know when he was born. However, judging by appearances only he could have been born in the early 1880s.

Originally from Sesheke, came with Paramount Chief Yeta III to Bulozhi in 1916. Served as overseer of the royal fields until 1946.

His father was brother to Yeta III's mother.

Given land and settled by Yeta III at Silundu a few miles from the present Sefula Mission.

After Yeta's death, some of Mukanwa's people returned to Sesheke, but Mukanwa decided to stay 'and die where his master left him'.

I asked him whether he was still a recognised figure at the kuta. He replied how could he be when he was then a helpless figure, unable to offer any service whatever. Then added bitterly that past service is forgotten immediately one becomes helpless, be it due to age or accident.

Unfortunately Mr Mukanwa would not agree to be interviewed fully without pay. I went away hoping he would change his mind after a period, but he died soon afterwards.

21 November 1962

Katukula Muchima; Muchima's village: below Sefula Mission Station and near Nasikena village; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; date of birth: unknown (born in Bulozhi).

Descendant of a Kaonde family captured and brought to Bulozhi during Lewanika's reign. Area of origin in Kaonde country not remembered, but some of the old members of her family, the last of whom, Manakubyana, died two years ago, continued to speak Sikaonde (language of the Kaonde) among themselves.

On arrival in Bulozhi the Muchima family was divided. Katukula's grandfather went to Induna Ikanjiwa, but her father was settled in Liondo. Katukula did not remember the Induna at Liondo to whom her father was given, because after some time he left his cruel master and went to work in the mines. This happened long before the liberation of slaves (in 1906).

At the time of liberation, Katukula's uncle, who had stayed with

her grandfather at Ikanjiwa's, left for the railway line. On his return to Bulozi he attached himself to the missionaries at Sefula, and was attached to the household of the first Lozi Evangelist Samuel Zaza. Muchima, Katukula's uncle, had a dog which caused a lot of trouble and complaints from the Zazas and their neighbours. One day he decided to kill the dog. He took it a little way into the Plain. As he killed the dog a party of the Paramount Chief (Lewanika or Yeta III?) happened to pass by. A man was sent from the royal party to enquire.

After Muchima explained his story, the chief was so touched that he despatched an Induna to find some unused land where Muchima could live freely. The site next to Nasikena below the mission was chosen. Once Muchima was settled in his new home he collected round him all his relatives who had stayed on with their former masters for lack of anywhere else to go.

Katukula had been married for many years and did not come to her uncle's village until recently. (Divorced or widowed?)

October 1968

Yuyi Wamunyima Mupatu; age: 66 (in 1964); village: Itwandi Sifulelwa; Silalo: Siwito; Induna: Nalubutu; occupation: teacher in the Barotse Native Government from 1915 to 1943. Member of the Katengo Council 1947-9. Induna Imandi 1949-56.

A very enterprising man. He was one of the first Lozi traders with a home store. In 1945-9 opened and ran a school for *Makapulwa*-boys who failed to get places in recognised schools. However, he was forced to close the school by the opposition of the Barotse Native Government. 1963 he reopened the school.

Mr Mupatu is very interested in traditions of his people and feels strongly that they should be preserved and taught to the young in schools, since the old media by which they were passed on to new generations are now functioning less and less. He collected and had published by the Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau traditions of the old Mambunda, who have settled in Bulozi since the early nineteenth century. Mr Mupatu's family has been linked with Mambunda from the time they arrived in Bulozi. His grandfather was one of the Lozi Indunas put in charge of the Mbunda immigrants.

11 April 1964

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The Litunga Sir Mwanawina III; son of Lewanika of an Nkoya mother; born: Lealui.

Early education through Paris Evangelical Missionary Society; 1908: Lovedale College in South Africa; 1913: Secretary and interpreter to his father Lewanika; 1937: Chief at Mankoya; 1948: Paramount Chief.

Services in World Wars I and II. Received King's Silver Medal for Chiefs and Coronation Medal in 1953. A staunch traditionalist. Died November 1968.

The Litunga answered specific questions which were put to him by Professor T. O. Ranger and myself. The etiquette of the Lozi kingship made it difficult to have a prolonged and an exhaustive interview with the Litunga.

November 1962

Thomas Mwandawande Mwikisa Muwindwa; born: 1902 (when Lewanika returned from England); village: Monga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi; occupation: teacher 1925 to 1963, with the P.M.S. Holds a courtly title of Mwandawande, bestowed on his maternal grandfather for the part he played in the 1884-5 revolution. In 1912, at the age of ten, my informant took the title and Lewanika ordered that the boy be taken to Mukalyana, who was then the Sambi of Nalolo, to be brought up in the true courtly manner.

In 1914 his mother died and he came to Liunga for the funeral. He was so impressed to see other boys going to school that he decided to stay at Liunga and go to school. From Liunga he went to Sefula. Lewanika was not very happy about this and he wanted the boy to go to Lwatile for his schooling. At Sefula Thomas was in the care of Rev. A. Monte Verdi.

As a teacher he worked in many parts of Bulozhi, including Sefula, Nasiwayo, Senanga, Nomai and Nangoma. He also went to Chalimbana School near Lusaka.

He is a greatly respected man with considerable knowledge of the Lozi traditional structure. He also speaks Luyana language fluently.

9 April 1964

Ndopu Nalumango; age: about 70 (in 1968); village: Nakonga; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.

1914- , Private Secretary to Mulena Mukwae Atangambuyu at

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Sesheke; -1936, Induna Aukelela (Sesheke); 1936-44, Induna Wakumelo; served for some time in the Urban Court, Broken Hill; 1944-63, Sambi of Nalolo under Mulena Mukwae Mulima and Mulena Mukwae Makwibi.

His father, Kanoti Nalumango, was one of the first Lozi sent by Lewanika to the carpentry and building P.E.M.S. School at Sefula. He later built Lewanika's houses and first houses for Mongu Boma.

Nalumango is a family title inherited by Kanoti from his maternal uncle whose children were by-passed because their mother had been a slave. Attached to the Nalumango title is the village headmanship of Nakonga Village.

After his retirement from Nalolo in 1963, Ndopu succeeded to the title of Nalumango and the village headmanship.

One of Ndopu's ex-wives is Mukwae Inonge Lewanika. They have a daughter Nolianga, who married the late Litunga (her uncle) Sir Mwanawina Lewanika.

Note: The ex-Sambi was obviously greatly insulted when I enquired into his career and personal relationship since I was supposed to know it all - for he is not only a figure of 'distinction' but also the formal head of the writer's maternal family! The brief biographical note above then had to be compiled on secondhand information. Hence the gaps!

October 1968

Muhongo Sakanga; village: Nalitoya; Silalo: Liunga.

Reputed to have been well over 100 years old in 1963.

Was a great warrior and had worked with all the chiefs beginning with Sipopa.

Wars he fought in included:

- 1 Sipopa's war against Mashukulumbwe (Ila).
- 2 Rebellion against Sipopa in 1876. Supported Mwanawina II.
- 3 Makupekupe war: when Mwanawina tried to return to power with the help of Chikunda hunters. He fought on Lewanika's side.
- 4 Mongu war: he fought with the loyalists from the south (1885) and the leader of the southerners, Muhongo, was his brother.
- 5 Mashukulumbwe war: Siyasa (Saayasa) asked Lewanika to go and punish the Mashukulumbwe who had taken his wife.
- 6 Luvale war (1892) which was followed by smallpox outbreak.
- 7 Makwambi war: Lewanika was revenging the death of Wam-

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undila, who had been killed by the Makwambi.

Mr Sakanga was very old and could not even leave his bed when I went to see him. However, he could still hear very clearly and spoke in a clear voice.

Mr Sakanga claimed that he had seen Livingstone.

There was no doubt that Mr. Sakanga was a store of knowledge, and he was widely recognised and respected for this. However, due to his great age it was difficult for him to give a coherent account of events. He made lists of topics and events he considered to be of great historical significance, but tired easily and failed to follow them in either a chronological or coherent form. This was particularly true of the early traditions.

Most of the traditions of the second half of the nineteenth century had been first-hand experiences to him, as could be seen by his emotional reaction to them. For instance, he broke down and wept when he talked of the 1884-5 fighting where he had seen his brother Muhongo killed.

1 January 1963

Joane Zaza; born: 1899; village: Mule; Silalo: Sinumuyambi.

Mr. Zaza did not show any detailed accurate knowledge of Lozi traditions. However, he had spent twenty years in the then Belgian Congo and was at one time tax collector in the village of Mwata Yamvo. He claims to have been on very good terms with Mwata Yamvo and had interesting things to say about the Lozi-Lunda relationship from the Lunda traditions.

2 February 1963

Neo Songa Zaza; age: 52.

Resident of Mule village. Self-employed; to begin with he was a general dealer, but now he trades in raw materials, e.g. exporting of timber, hides and fibres. He calls himself Lozi, but on his paternal side he is Kwandi and the maternal side he is a Mutoka.

Mr. Zaza is quite an outstanding figure in his society, although he has no direct connections with the royal family. He has served on several local committees and distinguished himself in this sphere, especially during the period 1954 to 1958. He was a member of the Barotse Advisory Council (Katengo), a member of the District Local Education Authority, a member of the Barotse Special Juvenile

Court and the Zambezi River Transport Board of Control.

Mr Zaza has great interest in Lozi history and was in the process of writing a book when I approached him. He has acquired his information through the medium of oral tradition and some of his informants, he told me, were born as long ago as 1868 (Lisulo and Sakanga). Apart from this his experience, especially as a member of the Barotse Advisory Council (the Katengo), gave him a deep understanding of the Barotse set-up. It was during this period that his outspoken criticisms of the present set-up, as compared to the past, led to his falling out of favour with the Litunga, Mwanawina III. He and his family were threatened with banishment, but the Litunga failed to put his threats into practice due to fear of public opinion.

19 November 1962

Mrs Zaza Lumba Ma-Joane (died 1967); village: Mule, situated about 1½ miles from Sefula Mission Station; born about 1883 (said to be about 80 years old in 1963).

Mother of Joane and Neo Zaza (see above). A Mutonga or Mutoka by tribe, captured as a little girl from Gwembe on one of the numerous raids by the Lozi. She was given to the missionary Coillard as a slave girl. The missionary looked after her and finally gave her in marriage to Samuel Zaza, one of the first Lozi evangelists. Both Mr and Mrs Zaza became very distinguished in the life of the Church.

At the time of the interview Mrs Zaza was a widow and head of a big family of sons and grandchildren.

2 February 1963

SENANGA DISTRICT

Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende; village: Nalutunda-Nalilowa; village headman: Akende (same as above); Silalo: Ukolo-Induna Mukata; born about 1902; tribe: Lozi (Mbowe).

Belonged to the family of traditional tanners for the royal family. He himself, in his turn, became the chief tanner of royal skins and animal hides used as blankets by the chiefs. In the olden days this was a job which required a lot of specialisation, and men who did it were traditionally known as *ba Lwambo*.

Mr. Akende's great-grandmother married Ngalamwa, and although he himself has no direct connection with the ruling family,

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the marital link was important enough to earn the whole family the special occupation of royal tanners.

30 November 1962

Induna Natamoyo Mando; born: 1888.

Son of Kabuku, the first chief of Sesheke after the replacement of Indunas by chiefs. Induna Omei 1908-34; Induna Natamoyo 1934-66 (retired due to ill health).

Induna Sunga Wakunuma; born: 1882.

Induna Sunga since 1923.

He has worked with Mukwae Matauka, Mukwae Mulima and the present Mulena Mukwae Makwibi (retired 1965).

Induna Kakwisanungu Mwanangombe; born: 1895 (died July 1968), Induna Omei 1944; Induna Kakwisanungu 1949.

19 December 1962

Lubinda Imataa Kabuku; born: 1905; village: Nalunembwe; Silalo: Wanyau; occupation: a village headman, but before he took this up had a very varied career as salesman, teacher, road *capitao* and a pontoon ferryman at Lukando.

He is a commoner with no ties with the establishment.

14 January 1963

Induna Kakene Sianga Mubita; born: 1891 (died 1967); village: Lianyi where he is the headman; district: Senanga.

Sianga Mubita has been Induna Kakene from March 1917. The title that he bears belonged to the Ngambela of Mwanambinyi who was called Kakene. (I understand there is a dispute at present between the present Kakene and the present Mbulunga as to who was the Ngambela. However, in the north I was told that Mbulunga was never the Ngambela of Mwanambinyi, although he was very close and greatly trusted by Mwanambinyi; Mbulunga was the chief steward.)

14 January 1963

Mulena Mukwae Makwibi Mwanawina; Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo since 1959; born: September 1919.

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Daughter of the Litunga of Bulozhi, Sir Mwanawina III; Mulena Mukwae Mboanjikana at Libonda from 1951-9.

Mulena Mukwae insisted that some of her senior Indunas and the Ishee Kwandu (prince consort) should be present during the interview.

26 November 1962

Sianga Nayoya; village: Namikoka; Silalo: Ukolo; born: about 1892 (the year when there was an outbreak of smallpox as the Lozi returned from Luwale); tribe: Mbowe (Lozi); occupation: an ordinary villager who engages in farming and cattle grazing.

Note: Came to the same interview with Kumoyo Kumoyo Akende. Of the two men Akende seemed much more acquainted with his historical narrative.

30 November 1962

Ndambo Simalumba; born: 1913 at Nalolo. Father was a *Sikombwa* (steward) of Mukwae Matauka. Grandfather an Induna. Educated through the P.M.S. at Sefula and Lukona. Teaching since 1936.

Mr. Simalumba was clearly sceptical of some of the accounts he gave, e.g. the fact that the dead spirits on royal tombs could possibly eat the foods they were ceremonially offered. He is also a natural 'clown' capable of exaggeration in his narratives.

January 1963

Induna Biundwanono Mainga Wamundila; village: Silele; Silalo: Ukolo; born: 1902 (when Lewanika returned from the coronation of Edward VII in England); occupation: to begin with he was an evangelist in the P.M.S. Then he became a teacher. In 1948 was appointed Induna Saywa at Nalolo, a title which previously had been held by his father. In 1964, as a result of administrative reforms in Barotse government, Lozi titles and officials were reduced in number. The title of Saywa was one of those dropped, but Mr. Wamundila was given the title of Biundwanono and continued as a judge at Nalolo.

(Mr. Wamundila's father had been a representative chief among the Mbukushu. After the 1885 revolution he was promoted to Lealui, where he succeeded to the title of Saywa and head Induna of the Silalo of Sinumuyambi. In 1928 he became Ishee Kwandu (Prince consort) of Mulena Mukwae Matauka.)

1962; 1964; 1966; April 1969 (last interview)

Ndate Muyunda Wamunungo (died 1967); resident of Silele village; v/headman: Wamundila; Silalo: Ukolo; tribe: Kwandi.

He was very reluctant to speak Sikololo and kept changing to Siluyana in the middle of the interview; born about 1880; occupation: had served as a personal attendant (*libuto*) to Lewanika.

From 1916-46 continued as *libuto* to Yeta III. His duties included guarding the chief. At night he slept at the door of Kwandu, together with those placed under him and doing the same duties.

11 December 1962

SESHEKE DISTRICT

Kufunduka Mubukwanu Liatitima; born: 1902. A descendant of Silumelume, son of Mulambwa.

In 1925 succeeded his father as chief of Lukulu. In 1937 he was deprived of his chieftainship, following some misunderstanding and an alleged plot against Yeta III. He then remained self-employed as a farmer and trader, until 1960, when he joined United National Independence Party and became one of the organisers. In 1963 he was elected to Katengo in Sesheke and then to the House of Chiefs set up by the Zambian Central Government.

23 March 1964

John Kashembe Lipumbu; village: Kaoleole; v/headman: Lipumbu; Silalo: Lyanja; district: Sesheke; tribe: Mukwangwalima; born: 1916; school: P.M.S. Mwandi.

Worked as a cook in Livingstone; 1937-57, messenger at Sesheke Boma; 1960, elected president of Lyanja Kuta.

His father was brought to become a *libuto* (bodyguard and messenger) at the Lozi capital.

He was given to Litia (Yeta III) when the latter was posted to Kazungula. His father served as a *libuto* to both Yeta and Imwiko at Sesheke. Lipumbu is a family title, not a kuta title. The informant succeeded to the title on his father's death, but this did not entitle him to become a member of the Sesheke Kuta. He therefore continued as a messenger until 1957. 1960 made court president.

October 1968

Induna Lyashimba Imbula Mashekwa; born: about 1885. (When

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Lewanika returned from exile in Mashi.)

He has been an Induna since 1920. Induna Imukonda at Sesheke, 1920-2, under Mukwae Atangambuyu.

Induna Lyashimba at Nalolo. In 1936 when great changes were made in the Native Authority, Induna Lyashimba was one of several Indunas who were transferred from the Central Court at Nalolo to sub-district Kutas. At present Induna Lyashimba is in charge of Nasilimwe Kuta.

In all Induna Lyashimba has worked under four different chiefs: Atangambuyu of Sesheke, 1920-2; Mukwae Matauka of Nalolo, 1922-34; Mukwae Mulima of Nalolo, 1936-59; Mukwae Makwibi of Nalolo 1959-to present.

17 December 1962

Walubita Mukhele; born: 1897 at Kazungula.

Educated through Paris Mission at Sesheke and in Basutoland. 1916-35, clerk at Mwandi Kuta and private secretary to the chief. 1936, helped to set up Naliele Lozi Kuta in Mankoya. In 1938 he succeeded his father to the title of Lyashimba. In 1945 moved to Lealui with Imwiko where he became Induna Kalonga. In 1948 he became the Ngambela, an office he held till 1956, when he resigned due partly to differences with the Litunga Mwanawina III and ill-health (deafness).

Note: Mr. Walubita is related to the Zaza family of Mule village, Sefula, through marriage. His sister is the wife of Clement Muyunda Zaza.

June 1964 and March 1969

Mulena Mukwae Nakatindi; daughter of Yeta III (Litia), the eldest son of Lewanika.

Mukwae Nakatindi is the present chieftainess of Sesheke District; capital: Mwandi.

She was born at Lealui. Early education through the P.M.S. at Lwatile and Mabumbu. In 1936 she went to Hope Fountain School of the London Missionary Society in then Southern Rhodesia.

1937-42, Tiger Kloof Institution of the London Missionary Society in Cape Province of South Africa. First Lozi woman to do matriculation.

Joined the United National Independence Party (it is said after an unsuccessful bid in 1959 for the Nalolo chieftaincy). 1962, became

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the first director of the U.N.I.P. Women's Brigade. 1963, elected to Parliament. 1964-8, she was a junior minister in the government. June 1966, she succeeded to the chieftaincy of Sesheke at Mwandì.

June 1968

Induna Chikomba Samufuka; village: Samufuka; Silalo: Njoko; district: Sesheke; Induna: Sifuwe; tribe: Luchazi; born in Portuguese West Africa near Kwanyinda Boma.

1953 made Induna Samufuka at Lwanja Kuta. Then became Luvalé representative in Sakakuwa Silalo, at Nawinda kuta. Then he was transferred to Mwandì and then Lwanja kuta.

His father is still in P.W.A. The informant followed his maternal uncle, who migrated to Sesheke.

October 1968

Daniel Kalimukwa Sifuwe; village: Nawinda; Silalo: Njoko; district: Sesheke; kuta: Nawinda; born: 1921.

School at Sichili Mission of the Capuchin Fathers. Worked as a medical orderly; for the railways in Bulawayo; Johannesburg as a mine policeman; and Livingstone Cold Storage. 1946 became Induna Sifuwe.

Daniel Kalimukwa Sifuwe is a descendant of Kalimukwa Mulanziane Sitwala through his father. Succeeded to the title of Sifuwe, which was previously held by his uncle. Sifuwe (the uncle) was a Ndumeleti (representative induna) at Njoko in Sesheke.

At the time of the Makololo overthrow by the Lozi, Kalimukwa fled to Sifuwe, who took over the Indunaship from one Imunyanda, who had held the office during the Makololo interregnum.

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Section II: ARCHIVAL SOURCES

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Colonial Office (Commonwealth Library)

Colonial Office Confidential Prints:

South Africa numbers 358; 552; 656; 659; 686; 719; 733; 740; 749.

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Public Record Office

Affairs North of the Zambezi.

Foreign Office Confidential Prints in F.O. 403 series: 5918; 6178; 6337; 6482; 6537; 6613; 6688; 6784; 6851; 6911; 6968; 7010; 7074; 7143.

African South C.O./4-17 series.

Methodist Missionary Society

Archives: 25 Marylebone Road, London, N.W.I.

Arthur Baldwin, *Diaries and the Journal of Arthur Baldwin*.

(Original manuscripts, and a typescript by Dr. Edwin Smith)

(April 1889-July 1893); Box N/T. 11.

Letters of Coillard to Baldwin; Box 1.

P.E.M.S.

Paris Evangelical Missionary Society Mission Headquarters, 102, Boulevard Arago

Archival material:

Francois Coillard, *Personal papers, letters and journals 1880-1904* (most of them are copies of originals in Salisbury, Rhodesia)

Zambezi files: 1885-1904:

Letters from the Zambezi missionaries to the Director and Secretary P.E.M.S., and to the Committee of P.E.M.S. in Paris; and also Mission Conference Minutes and reports.

Personal letters and papers of most missionaries are still retained by their respective families, e.g. Adolphe Jalla's papers are with his daughter, Miss Graziella Jalla in Torre Pelice, near Turin. Similarly A. Coisson's papers are with his son R. Coisson, near Turin.

Publications (Primary)

Journal des Missions Evangeliques, Paris. Published by the P.M.S. since 1835

News from Barotseland. Une Collection Complete, 4- volumes, 1897-1932 (London).

Sefula Mission Station

P.E.M.S. Headquarters in Bulozi (in Zambia).

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Letters F. Coillard; Son Testament; Condoléances;
Correspondance Officielle; Administration Britannique, Kalomo-Mongu, 1908-1933;
School Files; Reports and Correspondence;
Letter Book, 1910-1921;
Petition of Yeta III to the High Commissioner, 31 March 1921.

National Archives Rhodesia (Salisbury)

Administrator's Files

A 15/1-15 Miscellaneous, 1889-1899; A 3/18/5 Lewanika, 1896-1903;
A 11/2/12/5-6 Lewanika, 1901-1903; A 11/2/
14/1-23 North-Western Rhodesia, 1902-1909.

British South Africa Company Files

Cape Town

C.T. 1/4/1-7 Barotseland, 1890-1895; C.T. 1/11/1/1 Concessions,
Barotse, 1890-1895; C.T. 1/15/1 Matters relating to
Native Affairs 1892: Barotseland.

London Office

L.O. 5/2/1-58; L.O. 5/3/1-4; L.O. 5/7/1-6.

Private Collection

Coillard Papers

C.O. 5/1/1 volume ii: (a) Correspondence of François Coillard, 1883-1891. (b) Extracts from Coillard's Journal translated by Miss C. W. Mackintosh. Volume iii: Coillard Papers, 1892-1900.

C.O. 5/2/1 Letters from Coillard to Richard Hunter, director of the firm Hunter, Barr and Co., of Glasgow and a friend of Coillard's, and a supporter of the Mission.

C.O. 5/5/1 Coillard Papers - transcripts prepared by Miss C.W. Mackintosh.

Diary of William T. Waddell

W.A. 1/1/1-5 1882-1893, Diary of Barotseland.

National Archives Zambia (Lusaka)

A Series

Bulozi under the Luyana Kings

Papers of the Administrator, North West Rhodesia (NW/A)

NW/A1/1/1-13 In letters 1902-1911, High Commissioner for South Africa; A1/2/1-17 In letters 1902-1911, London Office; A2/1/1-5 Out letters 1908-1911, High Commissioner; A2/2/1-6 Out letters 1901-1911, London Office; A2/3/1 Barotse Boundary Commission (Jan. 1904); A3/5 Barotse Trust Fund, 1905-1909; A3/13/1 Barotse National School, 1907-1910; A3/13/3 P.M.S. Schools, 1909-1910; A3/24/4 Lewanika and his family, 1904-1910; A3/24/10 Outrages committed by the Mokwae at Sesheke, 1904; A3/24/11 Barotse Indunas, February-June 1905; A3/25 Police, Lealui, 1905-6; A3/10 Confidential Correspondence, 1908-9; A/5/2/1-6 District and Sub-district Annual Reports, Barotseland, 1908-9; A6/1/1-3 Correspondence relating to Barotseland written to Administrator, Matebeleland, 1895-1901; Reports by Harding and Gibbons.

B Series

Papers of the Northern Rhodesia Secretariat (NR/B)

NR/B1/1 Barotse Trust Fund 1924-1927; (A1077; A1076; A353; AS); B1/1 (A1892) Increase of subsidy for Mokwae, 1927; B1/1 (A353D) Concessions - Yeta III Correspondence with the Secretary of State, 1922-1924; B1/1 (A281A) Boundaries, District Barotseland 1912-1925; B1/IX Caprivi Strip 1914-1927.

NR/B1/2/1927 Series

NR/B1/2/277-9 Barotse Concessions 1901-1911; Lewanika: 1901 Amendments: 1905 and 1906; Lewanika: 1909; Lewanika to T. B. Davies; NR/B1/2/281 Barotseland boundaries 1899 March to September 1925; NR/B1/2/284 Marozi in Caprivi Strip 1911; B1/2/285 Title of Paramount Chief 1917-1919; B1/2/286 Successor to Lewanika, 1904-1911; B1/2/287 Death of Lewanika, 1911-1916; B1/2/288 The Election of Ngambela; B1/2/289 Succession to Mukwae of Nalolo, 1923; B1/2/291 Control of Barotseland by the Imperial Government, 1921-1922; B1/2/292 Interview with Litunga, 1903-1921; B1/2/293-4 Yeta's interview with High Commissioner, 1921; B1/2/295 Collection of tribute; B1/2/297 Slavery and the Litunga, 1911-1924; B1/2/300 Upkeep of Nalikwanda, 1918-1919; B1/2/301 Jurisdiction of Magistrates Courts, 1904-1918; Barotse Government: Land cases and

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outline system, 1921.

B1/3/1928 File Series:

B1/3/110 Subsidies to Mulena Mukwae, 1928; B1/3/315B Barotse Cattle, 1928-9; B1/3/4-23 Appointment and dismissal: 1928-1929, Chiefs and Headmen; B1/3/4-26 Boundaries: Barotse claim to a portion of Kasempa District 1928; B1/3/677 Paramount chief's visit to Livingstone 1928; B1/3/688 Native Affairs, Barotseland 1928.

B1/7/1929 Series:

B1/7/NAT/H Barotse Files: claims of paramount chief 1916-1938; Lewanika Concessions, 1900-1912; Reconsideration of Concessions, 1927-1931.

IN Series:

Secretary for Native Affairs (NW/IN):

NW/IN 1/3 Barotse District 1906; IN 1/4- Barotse Indunas collecting tribute; Kasempa District 1905 September-December, IN 1/5 (1-8) Barotse Representative Indunas; IN 1/7 Ethiopian Church in North Western Rhodesia: 1904 November-1906 June; IN 1/9 Lealui correspondence 1904--1906; IN 1/11 Masubiya cattle.

K.D.E. Series

Papers of Resident Magistrate, Barotse Province:

KDE 1/1/1-6 Out letters 1902-1911; KDE 1/4-/1-26 Files relating to the Litunga 1905-15; KDE 2/3/1 Balovale Dispute 1936-1940; KDE 2/7/1-9 Boundaries; KDE 2/13/1-6 Chiefs and Headmen 1906-1935; KDE 2/14/1-3 Complaints, 1906-1935; KDE 2/15/1-3 Concessions, especially Litunga, 1900-1925, Peregrino 1911; KDE 2/16/1-4- Confidential Correspondence KDE 2/31/1-3 Native Affairs and Customs, 1920s; KDE 2/32/1-5 Native Unrest (File 4-, Mboo); KDE 2/34-/1-20 Paramount chief 1901-1920; KDE 2/36/1-3 Slavery 1906-1924; KDE 2/37/1-6 Subsidies, 1904-1920; KDE 2/39/1-3 Tax, 1902-1923; KDE 2/4-3/1-5 Anthropological, historical, slavery, language, customs; KDE 2/44/1-21 History of Barotseland, notes and documents; KDE 41/1 Mankoya District, 1907; KDE 6/2 District inspections, Mankoya, Kalabo, Sesheke,

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1927; KDE 7/1 Hut tax, 1906-1915; KDE 8/1 District Annual Reports, 1906-1929; KDE 8/2/1-7 Tours, Balovale 1926-1929, Kalabo, Mankoya, Mongu-Lealui, Nalolo, Sesheke.

U Series:

High Court of Northern Rhodesia

U1/2 Slavery: Barotseland 1906-1930; U5/1-2 Barotse District Courts: slavery.

ZA Series:

Secretary for Native Affairs

ZA 1/9/4-7/1-35 Files relating to Barotseland; ZA 1/9/60 Slavery Report 1896-1897; ZA 9/1/1 Correspondence on Barotse Influence, 1910-1936.

District Note Books

Bulozi:

KD.E. 10/1 Mongu-Lealui District Note Book 1907-1964, 2 volumes; K.D.E. 10/2 Barotse Provincial Note Book 1912-1936, 2 volumes; K.S.H. 2/1 Kalabo (formerly Lukona) District Note Book 1906-1962, volumes i-iv; K.S.R. 2 Senanga District (formerly Nalolo) 1907-1963; K.S.X. 4/1 Mankoya District Note Book 1907-1963; K.T.O. 3 Sesheke District Note Book 1909-1963.

Other districts:

K.D.B. 5/1 Batoka District Note Book 1911-1924; K.D.D. 5/1 Kasempa District Note Book 1902-1964; K.S.C. 4/1 Livingstone District Note Book 1904--1959; K.S.E. 4/1 Mwinilunga (Lunda) District Note Book 1906-1964; K.S.F. 2/1 Namwala District Note Book 1904--1963, 2 volumes; K.S.P. 3/1 Kalomo District Note Book 1901-1963; K.T.E. 2 Gwembe District Note Books; K.T.J. 3 Mumbwa District Note Book 1899-1951, 2 volumes; K.T.V. I Kabompo District Note Book 1948-1964, 2 volumes; K.T.W. I Balovale District Note Book 1907-1964; Box 356. Miscellaneous historical notes on Barotseland.

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Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu Receives Mambunda Chiefs* (typescript). * Ethno File Mbunda ET 4/7.

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Mutumba Mainga married the late Nicholas Theodore Bull in 1965. She was widowed in 2003. Mutumba Mainga Bull holds a BA Hons (History, 1963) and a Ph.D (History, 1969) from the University of London. She also had a year of postgraduate research at the University of Cambridge.

Dr. Mutumba Mainga Bull lectured at the University of Zambia in History from 1969 to 1973. In 1973, after she successfully contested for a parliamentary seat in Nalolo Constituency in the Western Province (Bulozi), Mutumba Mainga Bull went into national politics. From 1973 to

1991, Dr. Bull held various positions in UNIP and at Cabinet level in the Government of the Republic of Zambia. She left active politics in 1991.

In 1996 Mutumba Mainga Bull rejoined the University of Zambia as a Senior Research Fellow. She was the Director of the Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Zambia, for three years from 2005 to 2008. Currently she continues at the Institute as a Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Governance Research Programme of the Institute.

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